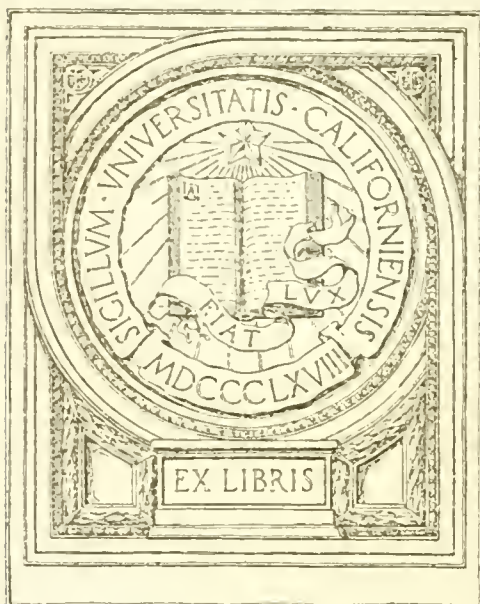




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COLONIZATION OF THE NEW WORLD

BY

JOHN FISKE, LL.D., LITT.D.

AUTHOR OF "OUTLINES OF COSMIC PHILOSOPHY," "AMERICAN POLITICAL IDEAS,"
"THE CRITICAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY," "THE DISCOVERY OF
AMERICA," "OLD VIRGINIA AND HER NEIGHBORS," "THE
DUTCH AND QUAKER COLONIES," ETC.

VOLUME XXI

OF

A HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS



LEA BROTHERS & COMPANY

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PREFACE.

DR. JOHN FISKE was for more than twenty-five years a commanding figure in American thought and letters, and in his death, on July 4, 1901, his country suffered a grievous loss. A writer on great themes, which in the earlier part of his career were chiefly philosophical but later were taken mainly from the field of American history, he had a style of singular directness, lucidity and picturesqueness, and his writings invariably show, along with great skill in the marshalling and ordering of details, a powerful grasp of principles and a vivid historic sense. Perhaps nowhere are these qualities—the marks of a great writer—more strikingly exhibited than in the volumes that are now committed to the reading public.

During the last fifteen years of his life Dr. Fiske occupied himself mainly with the investigation of special periods and phases of American history, from the discovery of the Western Continents to the close of the eighteenth century. The separate volumes or groups of volumes issued by him from time to time, wherein the results of these studies were embodied, often in great detail, are too well known to need enumeration here. These books had long since aroused in readers and students of American history the desire that their author should at some time furnish in a single work a connected and comprehensive treatment of the whole subject of the history of the New World from the earliest times, and especially in the nineteenth century. This desire has been happily fulfilled in the "History of the Two Americas."

At the time of Dr. Fiske's death the entire work was in the Publishers' hands, in manuscript, and the proof-sheets of two-thirds of it had been read and corrected by the Author. The Editor of the earlier volumes of this series was glad, at the request of Mrs. Fiske and of the Publishers, to undertake the reading of the proofs of the final

volume, a task that was rendered easy by the characteristically faultless condition of the manuscript. He also prepared the analytical Tables of Contents that are appended to each of the three volumes, and added a few pages at the end in which the narrative of American history is brought down from the close of the Spanish-American War to the accession of Mr. Roosevelt as President of the United States.

The thanks of the Publishers are due, above all, to Hampton L. Carson, Esq., LL. D., of Philadelphia, for allowing free use to be made, in the illustration of these volumes, of his unrivalled collection of rare portraits and other prints. Similar thanks are due for the use of copyright material to Herr Rudolf Cronau, of New York, and to William J. Campbell, Esq., of Philadelphia.

J. H. W.

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COLONIZATION OF THE NEW WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

ABORIGINAL AMERICA.

AMERICA is the name now applied to the continental mass which, beginning with the lands near the North Pole, extends to Cape Horn.

As we shall hereafter see, the name did not at first have this meaning. It was originally applied simply to the coast of Brazil, explored in 1501 by Americus Vesputius; but before the end of the sixteenth century the name had come to be applied by many people to the whole western continent, and in the course of the seventeenth century this wider meaning became universal.

When America was discovered, the existence of such a continent had not been suspected; for it was assumed that the same ocean which washed the shores of France and Spain extended westward as far as China and Japan. When it was distinctly understood that a new continent had been found—a fact which it took men at least two generations fully to comprehend—the New World became the subject of busy speculation. There was much theorizing as to the nature of its tawny inhabitants and their relationship to the peoples of the Old World. From that day down to the present time, there has been much guessing on the subject. The red men have been supposed to be descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel, or in some other way connected with the people of Asia; and in order to account for their presence in the western hemisphere, there has been much speculation as to the possibility of crossing long stretches of sea in rude boats, such as uncivilized men might construct. It has also been frequently assumed that the red men must have entered America by crossing from Siberia to Alaska, between which less than forty miles of water intervened. Some bold speculators, however, taking courage from a very imperfect, hearsay

knowledge of geology, have imagined a continental bridge across the Atlantic between Africa and South America, a so-called country of Atlantis, through which the migrations of primitive men may have brought some of them to America.

The progress of scientific inquiry during the nineteenth century has rendered all such speculations completely antiquated. In the first place, geology has made it clear that since fossiliferous rocks began to be deposited there has been no continental mass filling the abysses of the Atlantic Ocean. There has been no continent of Atlantis in the neighborhood of the Sargasso Sea, or anywhere else where the ocean is now deep; on the contrary, it is probable that the great continental masses have not essentially altered their positions since the Archæan age; but while the ocean abysses have not been filled up, the shallow portions about their edges have repeatedly been raised in such wise as to increase the size of the continent. Shallow portions of the ocean have thus in sundry places been bridged over; and especially, so far as our present purpose is concerned, has this happened in the regions near the Arctic Circle. For example, Behring Sea has a depth of not more than a hundred fathoms, and it has again and again risen above the surface as a great mass of dry land connecting America with Asia. Still more interesting have been the changes in the geologic map of Europe since the beginning of the glacial period. There has been much discussion as to the date of that period; but if we follow Dr. Croll's conclusions, which still seem to be, in the main, well supported, we shall regard the glacial period as having begun about 240,000 years ago, and as having ended about 60,000 years ago. At this latter date, the German Ocean was dry land; the British Islands were part of the Continent, the Atlantic coast of which lay at least 200 miles west of Ireland. Scotland was then connected with both Greenland and Labrador. For example, the great volcano Hecla was then part of the chain of Grampians and the mountains of Wales, which were at least as high as the Alps at the present day. Britain, indeed, was an elevated plateau; the Thames, Humber, and Forth were tributaries to the Rhine, which emptied into the Arctic Ocean in a higher latitude than that of the North Cape, and must have had its outlet choked with ice, very much like the rivers of Siberia at the present day.

Now, at the time of which we are speaking, mankind had already been dispersed over the earth's surface for a period which we are unable to estimate. The researches of Josiah Whitney have shown that human beings were living in California when the auriferous valleys of the Sierra

Nevada were deposited. Ribeiro has shown that man lived at about the same time in Portugal. Now, that time was the later portion of the Pliocene period, for which, upon Croll's method, one can hardly assign a smaller antiquity than 400,000 years; but of course this does not carry us very near to the beginning of humanity. Men must have lived upon the earth a long time and acquired much knowledge by hard experience before they could leave their remains in countries so remote from one another as California and Portugal; but even if we were to assign to man no greater antiquity than that of the glacial period, it is abundantly clear that America might have been peopled from Europe or from Asia without crossing any seas whatever.

The question here may arise, Why should we suppose man to have originated in the eastern rather than in the western hemisphere? At the time of the discovery of America, horses were not known in the western hemisphere; and yet that part of the world is the one in which the horse seems originally to have been developed. At all events, it is the discoveries of the late Prof. Marsh in the Rocky Mountain region that have supplied all the missing links of evidence which enable us to demonstrate the descent of the modern horse from a small, five-toed quadruped in the Eocene age. The camel also, which we now associate with the deserts of Asia and North Africa only, seems to have originated in America, from which he disappeared long ages ago. There seems, therefore, no constraining reason for believing that man cannot have originated in America.

Nevertheless, such a conclusion is not probable. Among the primates are two families very sharply distinguished, represented respectively by the South American monkeys and the apes of the Old World. The zoological relationship of man to South American monkeys is somewhat remote; but to the apes of the Old World it is so close that all attempts to assign distinct families for them have failed, and he is allowed to constitute only a genus. It would therefore seem to be in the eastern hemisphere that the common ancestors of man and other primates must have flourished, a conclusion which is borne out not only by *Dryopithecus* and other Miocene man-like apes of Western Europe, but also by the recent discovery in Java of a creature which seems partly to fill the interval between ape and man. The probability, therefore, is that man originated in the eastern hemisphere, and migrated at some time to the western. That migration must have taken place at a very remote epoch, so that we can easily understand the fact that the American Indians are distinguished from Old World races by one notable anatomical peculi-

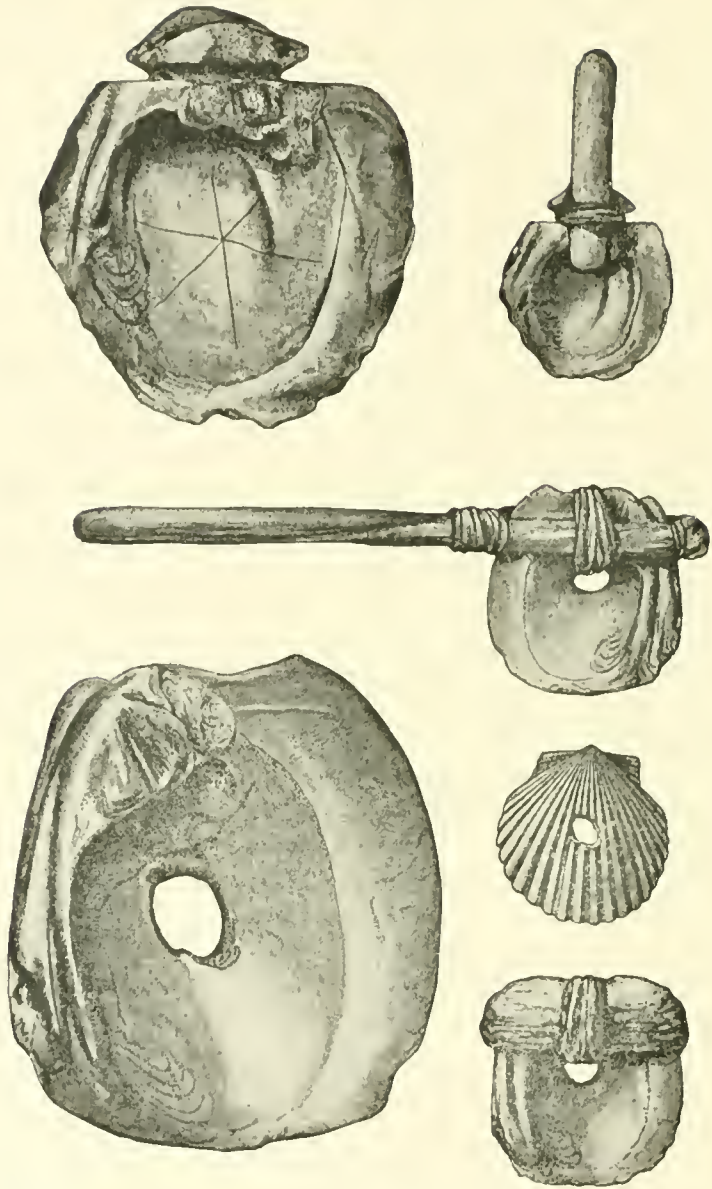


FIG. 1.—Indian shell implements. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. ii.)

arity—the position of the occipital foramen; in other words, the red man's head differs from the heads of other races in the way in which it is set upon the shoulders. Such an anatomical peculiarity implies a very

long period during which the race lived in isolation from other races of men.

These facts are in harmony with many others which we shall encounter, which seem to indicate that the aborigines of America acquired their peculiar characteristics during long ages of occupancy of the western continent, uninfluenced by communication with the rest of the world. With regard to the Eskimos, the case is different. The Eskimos are now believed, with good reason, to be the surviving representatives of the cave-men who inhabited Europe in the glacial period along with the musk-ox and reindeer. Indeed, the slow retreat of the cave-men, with their animals, from Europe, through the enormous length of Siberia, has left abundant traces to this day. From very early times until the present, the Arctic waters have been an easily traversable pathway for the Eskimos in their kayaks. From the days when they made their home in France, down to the present, when they greet our Arctic explorers in Greenland, the Eskimos have always clung to the edge of the Polar ice-sheet, a unique race of men still preserving the habits to which they became inured perhaps two thousand centuries ago, while the earth's orbit was growing more elliptic and the ice-sheet was flowing southward toward the latitudes of Dresden and of Philadelphia.

If the Eskimos are thus profoundly interesting as the survivors of an enormously remote past, when the world was very different from now, the red men are no less interesting as examples of a stage of culture which can nowhere else be studied so favorably as in America. From the Alaskan border to Cape Horn, the red men, in whatever stage of culture one finds them, have sundry attributes in common. There has been much less blending of diverse strains of blood than in the Old World; the institutions are simpler and show more nearly the same pattern. In order to make this plain, something should be said about the early stages of human progress.

It was not until the great maritime discoveries of the fifteenth century that civilized Europeans became familiar with low types of barbarism or savagery. Before that time, the European notion of a savage was something like a gorilla or hairy man of the woods. For example, at that famous ball in Paris in 1394, when Charles VI. and half a dozen of his nobles dressed themselves as savages, they thought it necessary to cover themselves with tow, in order to imitate the hair of the supposed denizen of the woods; an unfortunate notion in their case, for a torch accidentally set fire to some of the poor fellows and burned them to death, while the frightened king was once more made

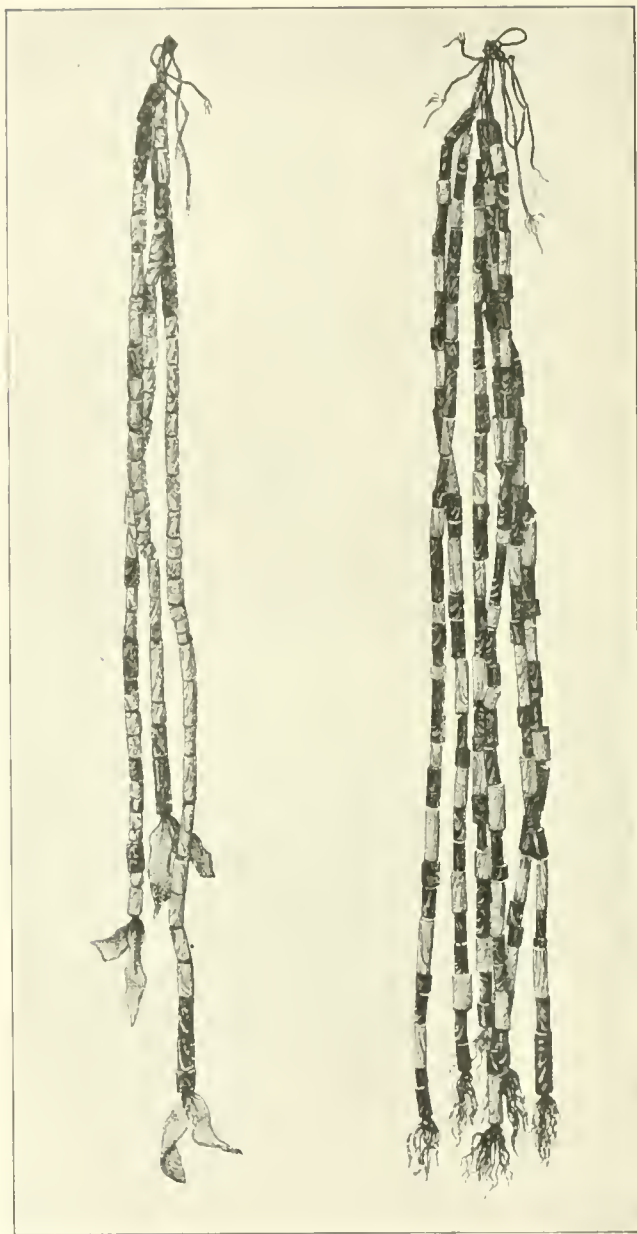


FIG. 2.—Strings of wampum. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. ii.)

insane. There is nothing to show that any Europeans had real knowledge of savagery until the Portuguese sailors visited the Guinea coast and captured black men there, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Of course the Germanic and Tartar barbarians, who made so much trouble for the Roman Empire, were very far removed from savagery.



FIG. 3.—Section of burial ground, East Dubuque, Ill. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. v.)

Until recent years, the word "savage" has been used with much looseness. It has been applied to many different grades of humanity, which are like each other in nothing except in being far below the level of civilized Europe. The words "barbarian" and "savage" have also been commonly confounded or used interchangeably, which is a pity. The first attempt at introducing strictness of definition into this subject was made a few years ago by the late Lewis Morgan, of Rochester, N. Y., one of the most profound men of science that America has produced. Let us briefly review Morgan's classification of stages of culture, since otherwise it is impossible to entertain clear conceptions of the position of the American Indian among the races of men.

Morgan begins by distinguishing permanently between savagery and barbarism. The distinction is furnished by the making of pottery. Barbarians make pottery; savages do not. A savage may weave most ingenious and excellent baskets (Fig. 4) that will even hold water, but he does not make vessels with baked clay. It seems probable that the making of pottery originated in fortifying the basket by smearing clay about it and then hardening it in the fire; after a while, the clay was used without the basket; then the art of pottery had begun. Most barbaric pottery shows the traces of its origin, when the bowls and pots (Fig. 5) are so marked as to resemble basket-work—a case of survival, like that of the back buttons on frock coats, which were once used, the upper

pair for attaching the sword-belt, the lower for catching up the skirt for convenience in the saddle.

The reader may feel inclined to ask, Why select such an art as pottery to represent a deep and fundamental difference between two stages of culture? Are pots and kettles, then, or jars and vases, so important? The answer is, that, to be of any use at all, a distinguishing mark must be something that is unmistakable. Two persons might speculate indefinitely about the mental capacity of two tribes of men, and never reach any definite result; but the question whether these tribes made pottery or not, is a question that admits of an absolutely positive answer; and in point of fact, the art of pottery does coincide with a very general advance in culture. For example, where we find pottery, we always find a much more distinctly organized village life.

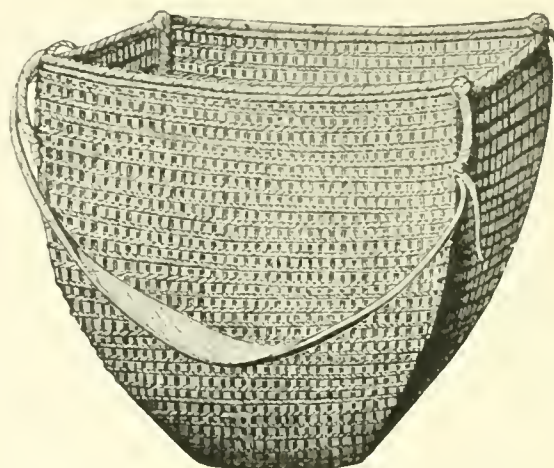


FIG. 4.—Basket of Clallam Indians. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. vi.)

Having thus distinguished between savagery and barbarism, Morgan divides each of these stages into three subordinate grades or sub-stages. First, the lower status of savagery. It is convenient for us to think of such a stage, although it has no living representatives. We mean by it the stage when man could use a stone for a hammer, and a stick for a crowbar, and could kindle fire, but otherwise had not reached the level of Australians or Andaman Islanders. The middle status of savagery is represented by the blacks of Australia, who can use the spear and boomerang, but cannot shoot at a distant mark. The invention of the bow and arrow marks the beginning of the upper status of

savagery. It is easy to see its vast importance, both in a military point of view and as a means of increasing the supply of food. It



FIG. 5.—Pot from a Tennessee mound. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iv.)

was probably the bow and arrow which first enabled man, in his wanderings about the earth, to leave the rivers, since birds and large game could now take the place of fish.

The passage from the upper status of savagery into the lower status of barbarism was marked, as we have seen, by the introduction of pottery. These stages are admirably represented in aboriginal America. The tribes west of the Rocky Mountains, as first known to white men, were in the upper status of savagery. They depended upon the bow and arrow. Village life was but little developed among them. Their wigwags were frail and temporary structures, or perhaps mere tents (Fig. 6), like the tipis of the Shoshones and Bannocks. From the Athabascans west of Hudson's Bay, down to the Apaches and Comanches, who have

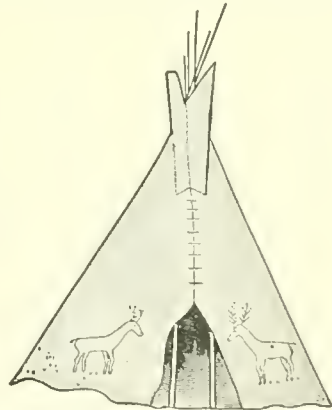


FIG. 6.—Omaha tent. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xi.)

at times made Arizona and New Mexico so hideous, all the tribes may be said to be in the upper status of savagery. On the other hand, all of the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, as far as the Atlantic coast, when first studied by white men, were in the lower status of barbarism. They had passed from the nomadic into the stationary mode of life. Their villages often remained in the same places for several generations. It is true that a tribe would sometimes change its locality, and perhaps move to a long distance; a notable instance is that of the Tuscaroras in 1715, who, having been terribly handled in their war with the settlers of Carolina, migrated northward and joined their brethren, the Five Nations of New York. But while such migrations occurred, it was simply a change from one stationary home to another stationary home, and not a mere wandering of nomads. In their villages, these Indians cultivated maize, beans, squashes, and pumpkins; and they laid in plentiful stores of provisions for the winter. Their wigwams were capacious, strongly built, and often quite tidily kept, while their villages were surrounded with palisades which served as a very efficient defence against other barbarians. Of this lower stage of barbarism, we shall naturally have much more to say from time to time.

The next stage which greets us is one which Morgan found it necessary to describe differently in the eastern and western hemispheres, and the difference is one of most profound interest and significance in the history of human progress. In the Old World, the middle status of barbarism was reached when men learned to domesticate such animals as the horse, ox, sheep, and pig. The aid thus given to civilization was so great that it would take long to describe it. Long before this period, doubtless, the dog had been made the companion of man as a hunter; but the domestication of cattle and sheep, goats and pigs, made possible a steady diet of meat and milk. There was also furnished by the great strength of oxen and horses a new source of mechanical power, the value of which has retained the highest rank until quite modern times. From this point of view, the domestication of cattle and horses was undoubtedly the greatest material advance in civilization that had yet been made. We shall the better appreciate the importance of the ox, if we reflect upon such great buildings as those of the ancient Peruvians, the erection of which entailed enormous sacrifices of human life. There is, in the neighborhood of one of the famous Inca temples, an enormous monolith standing at some distance from the enclosure. Its name is strangely pathetic. The natives

called it "the weary stone," because it grew so tired that it stopped half way toward its point of destination. Many hundreds of men must have perished before that terrible weight refused to go further. The horse, moreover, in addition to his value as a beast of burden, was an important contribution to military success and also to the catching of large game.



FIG. 7.—Cheyenne letter in pictographs. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iv.)

Along with the domestication of such animals we may place the systematic cultivation of the cereal grasses, the importance of which hardly needs mentioning. It appears from archaeological evidence that in the Old World the cultivation of barley, rye, wheat, oats, rice, millet, and sesame took place at about the same period as the employment of cattle in agriculture. It is of course obvious that, with the domestication of farm animals and cereal grains, a very long step was taken toward civilization. One of the important differences between the Old and the New World, perhaps the most important, consists in the fact that aboriginal America was deprived of the services of farm animals of every kind. Although the horse and camel had flourished in America in remote ages, yet they had become extinct long before man had arrived at such a stage of intelligence that he could make use of them. When America was discovered by Europeans, it had neither horses, horned

cattle, sheep, nor pigs. The only animal which had been domesticated was a dog of an inferior kind. It is probable that the species of wild dogs were originally less numerous than in the Old World, and nothing like the same amount of intelligent care had been devoted to the work of breeding superior varieties. Nearly all the Indian tribes had dogs, which they used both as hunters and for food; the great Indian delicacy, served on all occasions when it was desirable to show special hospitality, was a dish of boiled or roasted dog. Of other domestic animals, the only ones of any importance were the llama and alpaca in Peru, the former of which served to some extent as a beast of burden, although it was seldom that it could carry more than 150 or 200 pounds. The alpaca was domesticated for the sake of his fine fleece, from which wools of fairly high grade were spun by the Peruvians.

Of cereal grains, the aboriginal Americans cultivated none except maize, or what we call especially Indian corn; but this grain played so important a part in aboriginal America that high value must be assigned to its systematic cultivation. In America, therefore, the middle status of barbarism is held to have been attained when Indian corn was first cultivated in extensive fields by means of artificial irrigation. All the Indians of the lower status, when first visited by white men, raised Indian corn, but usually in small, partially reclaimed patches of the primitive wilderness. The cultivation of this corn required much less care and intelligence than that of the Old World cereals. It also grew in wholesome situations, unlike rice, which has played so great a part in Asiatic civilization, but seems fitted to grow only in swampy and malarious places. For the cultivation of the yellow cereal, it was only necessary to cut down a few trees, enough to let streaks of light into the forest. A short exposure to the fiery suns of an American summer sufficed to ripen this vegetable, which to-day in the Old World can be successfully raised nowhere north of Italy.

With the village Indians of the Atlantic coast, corn was one of the most important articles of food; large quantities of it were dried and stored away at one end of the long wigwam, to supply them during the winter season; and when they added to it the dried bean, the result was a delicious dish, which the English-speaking people of America still call by its aboriginal name of succotash.

So much for the culture of maize on a small scale; but when it came to be raised over extensive bare plains, it contributed toward increase in numbers and density of population. This occurred in the high plateaus of the Rocky Mountain region south of the fortieth parallel, and thence

along the chain of Cordilleras, more especially upon their western slopes, as far south as Chili. These regions were by nature ill supplied with moisture; the Rocky Mountain plateaus lie too far west to catch much rain from Atlantic breezes, while they are shut off from the Pacific by the lofty system of the Sierra Nevada, in crossing which the Pacific winds lose most of their moisture. On the other hand, in South America, the prevailing winds are always the trades, blowing from the Atlantic. On reaching the lofty Andes, they discharge their moisture so completely as to form the greatest river-system known in the world, including such enormous streams as the Orinoco, the Amazon, La Plata, and many others of great size. The western slopes of the mountains are thus left very dry.

Just in what circumstances the aboriginal red man began to contend with the difficulties of the dry upland region, we cannot tell; but in the course of the struggle his ingenuity was so far brought into play as to lead him to bring water from the melting snows on the mountains, through long sluices and canals, sometimes of admirable construction. The result of this was a population very much denser than could be found in other parts of the continent, although much less dense than one would be led to believe from sundry statements of the early conquerors, which can be proved to be greatly exaggerated. A further result was the development of the pueblo type of village community. As population grew denser, the wigwam, which at most might accommodate fifty families, developed into the pueblo, which might find room for a thousand.

Along with this vast increase in the dimensions of the household, there naturally went an increase in the solidity of buildings; and for this the peculiar clay of the western plateaus furnished excellent material.



FIG. 8.—Ojibway hawk-leg fetish. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. vii.)

The dwellers in these regions at some time learned to make adobe or sun-dried brick, which is the great visible characteristic of aboriginal American life, from New Mexico to Chili. Morgan therefore selects, as the distinctive marks of the middle status of barbarism in America, the use of adobe brick and the cultivation of maize by irrigation. Here we see a great advance on what had gone before, but much less of a forward step than the advance which characterized the parallel transition in the Old World. The American must still go on deprived of the all-important beasts of the farm, and what a difference that was! As we think of these things, we feel the eloquence of the old-time language, in which cows represented property—the days in which the old Aryan filled the solemn hymns of his Rig-Veda with allusions to these beautiful and friendly creatures.

Coming now to the upper status of barbarism, we are concerned with

the use of metals. The period of savagery coincides, in the main, with what we are accustomed to call the palaeolithic age, characterized by the use of stone implements but slightly chipped or fashioned. With the lower status of barbarism, we find the stone implements much more highly elaborated; whether it be the lances and arrows for military purposes, or the knives and hatchets for domestic use, they are either finely chipped or carefully polished, sometimes with a notable approach to accuracy. The edge of the neolithic axe (Fig. 9) is sometimes almost as straight and even as that of the metallic instrument. The Indians of the lower status

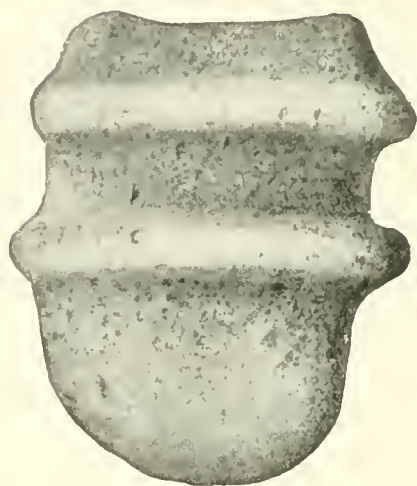


FIG. 9.—Grooved axe of chlorite-schist from Tennessee. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xiii.)

were familiar with copper, large quantities of which they obtained from the neighborhood of Lake Superior, where now the finest copper-mines of the world are found; but they made little use of the metal for purposes of cutting. In many respects, their best stone implements were more useful, because harder. A great step was taken in the Old World when it was discovered that the requisite hardness could be given

to copper by mixing with it small quantities of zinc or tin. The Old World, while in the middle status of barbarism, arrived thus at what we call a bronze age. Aboriginal America never arrived at such a stage; for, although the art of hardening copper with alloys seems to have been known, yet it had not been applied to any considerable extent. For all practical purposes, the warriors of Montezuma were still in the polished stone age.

A far greater step was taken—one of the greatest that humanity has yet witnessed—when people in the Old World discovered the art of smelting iron. From that day to this, iron has been one of the foremost agencies in human progress—even down to the present time, when the iron horse, speeding along his iron road, brings nations nearer together and expands the thoughts of men, while enriching and diversifying their lives. Vulcan is the typical deity of the upper status of barbarism. In aboriginal America this status was not attained. Of the forge and its mysteries, the red men knew nothing. For them, the blacksmith had not yet arrived.

Having thus passed through the three great stages of barbarism, we come to civilization properly so called. The mark by which Morgan distinguishes civilization from barbarism is one of which few will question the transcendent value. It is the invention of the alphabet, making possible the written transmission of the accumulated experience of each generation of men to all the ages that follow. Highly important as former stages may have been, great as were the consequences of the domestication of animals, the cultivation of cereal grains, and the substitution of iron instruments for those of stone, nevertheless it will be generally acknowledged that the written transmission of experience was a still greater step in advance. We cannot call any people truly civilized which has not attained to the art of writing.

No one can fail to recognize the great beauty, as well as the deep significance, of these generalizations of Morgan. They map out for us the early life of mankind and the phenomena presented by contemporary barbarisms and savages far more completely and rationally than has ever been done before. Indeed, we may say that we are now furnished for the first time with a set of sound and correct principles for studying uncivilized races.

In the light of these considerations, there is scarcely any stage of human progress upon which a heightened light is not thrown. But when we come to the specific point of the development of writing, recent discoveries oblige us to alter some of Morgan's illustrations.

He ranked in the upper status of barbarism not only the Gauls and Germans of the time of Caesar, but also the society described by Homer in his two great poems. According to Morgan, such men as Priam, Achilles, and Telemachus lived in the upper status of barbarism; for he thinks that they knew nothing of writing. It was this supposition which led Wolf, a century ago, to propound the theory, now exploded, that the Homeric poems could not be the work of a single author. Wolf thought it impossible for such long poems to be composed without writing. But for some years past, Egyptologists have

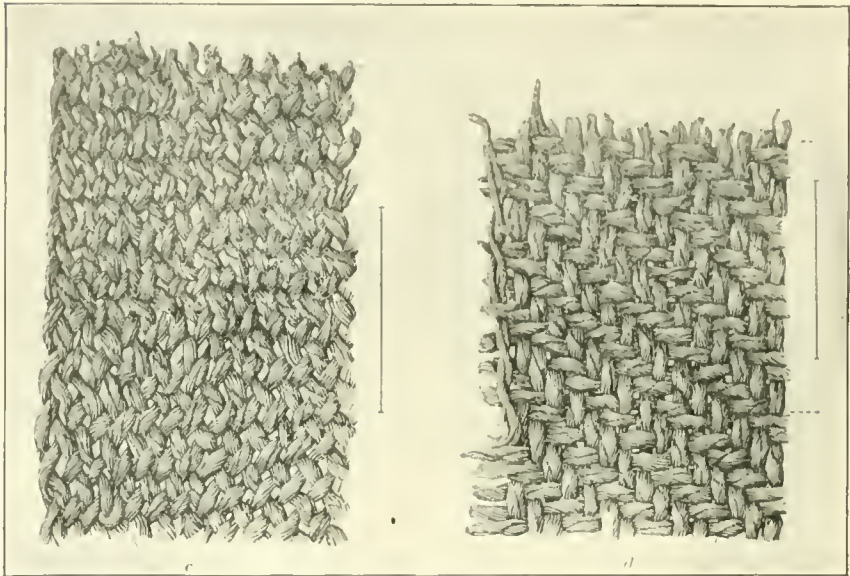


FIG. 10.—Charred fabric from mounds. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xiii.)

been able to read fluently compositions engraved upon stone in Egyptian tombs that were standing forty centuries before the Christian era. The cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia were long ago interpreted in their three different languages; and the recent researches at Nippur, which reflect undying honor upon the University of Pennsylvania and upon American scholarship, have proved that the art of writing was familiarly known in Western Asia not less than 9000 years ago.

Of course, these writings were not known to the Homeric Greeks; but the researches of Mr. Arthur Evans on early Cretan inscriptions

and their relations to Phœnician have made it pretty plain that writing was familiarly known in the Greek world before the destruction of Troy, and we need no longer have any hesitation in supposing that the parcel which Bellerophon carried with him in the sixth book of the *Iliad* contained written letters. Doubtless, then, we must regard the Greeks of Agamemnon's time as civilized, not as barbarians of the upper status. They must undoubtedly be ranked above the Germans led by Ariovistus, or the Gauls whom Brennus brought to Rome.

This slight correction in no way affects the soundness of Morgan's principles. When we come to the New World, the fact of writing somewhat modifies the conclusion in which he would leave us. The semicivilized tribes of Mexico and Central America were familiar with hieroglyphic writing. In the case of the Mayas, it is supposed that some progress had been made toward a phonetic system; but the decipherment alike of Aztec and old Mayas manuscripts has gone on under great difficulties, and as yet only partial success has been achieved. We have had no such aids to facilitate the work as those which were furnished to Young and Champollion by the Rosetta stone, or to Sir Henry Rawlinson by the trilingual inscription at Behistun. Nevertheless, the fact that these people have left manuscripts for us to sharpen our wits upon is enough to qualify somewhat any statement which simply leaves them in the middle status of barbarism. The simple truth is, that their progress in this direction was much greater than their progress in substituting metals for stone; so that, from one point of view, we should be liable to rate them more highly than from the other.

We find another anomaly in the case of Peru. In most respects, the grade of culture attained by the Incas was far higher than that reached by the Aztecs or Mayas; but the Peruvians had not even made a beginning in the direction of written language. Such anomalies we must expect to find in any attempt at classification, when we deal with such a complex subject as the various stages of human culture. Our only fit ground for surprise in Morgan's case is that his principles cover so much ground, with so few exceptional instances.

Some people have found much fault with Morgan for calling Montezuma's Aztecs barbarian. From the days of Cortes to the present, there has been much loose thinking on this subject. Society among these people had its brilliant and striking features, and it seems highly unappreciative to classify it as a phase of barbarism. This feeling, however, is partly due to the fact that in many minds the conception of barbarism

is not sufficiently discriminated from that of savagery. With the same laxity of speech in which our friend will chide us for not calling Montezuma a civilized prince, we hear him inveigh against the France of Louis XI. as a barbarous community. In truth, all such terms are relative. Mediæval Europe was barbarous when contrasted with Europe in the nineteenth century. Would it not by contrast have been still

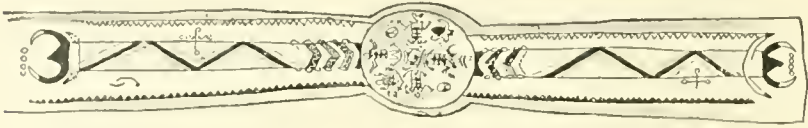


FIG. 11.—Apache medicine sash. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iv.)

more barbarous, had the armies of Louis XI. been armed with stone-pointed arrows, and his people unacquainted with the smelting of metals? Would not a still more lurid glare of barbarism have been added, if human sacrifices in the Place de Grève had been of frequent occurrence? In the same book which descants upon the lofty civilization of the Aztecs, we may read the bloodcurdling accounts of the awful scenes that went on in their temples—of their cannibal feasts—and still the author is conscious of no inconsistency.

When we are dealing with such a complicated subject as human progress, we need to be specially on our guard against fallacious conclusions. When we look at the impressive remains of ancient edifices at Palenque or Chichen-Itza, it is natural for us to exclaim: "How highly civilized those people must have been?" But if we ask how they obtained their water for drinking, we are soon confronted by the fact that to no mind in aboriginal America had ever occurred the idea of digging a well. Great ingenuity was shown in the use of sluices to bring down water in a definite direction from a higher level; but when it came to making water come up from below, that was something beyond the Indian's mental horizon. So, too, if we consider the great military roads of the Andes: one of the most intelligent of the old Spanish writers, Cieza de Leon, exclaims with admiration at the wonderful roads built by the Incas. He compares them with the finest Roman roads he had seen in Spain, and it is easy for the modern reader to jump to the careless conclusion that the Incas were therefore as intelligent as the Romans. But when it became necessary for that military road to cross a river or a mountain-chasm, the difference between the Roman stage of intelligence and that of the Inca comes out forcibly. The Roman built

a magnificent arched bridge of stone, over which dense columns might march, with all their chariots and cavalry—a bridge which might stand after thousands of years, the admiration of all beholders. But what did the Peruvian? He could not build an arch, for he had not thought

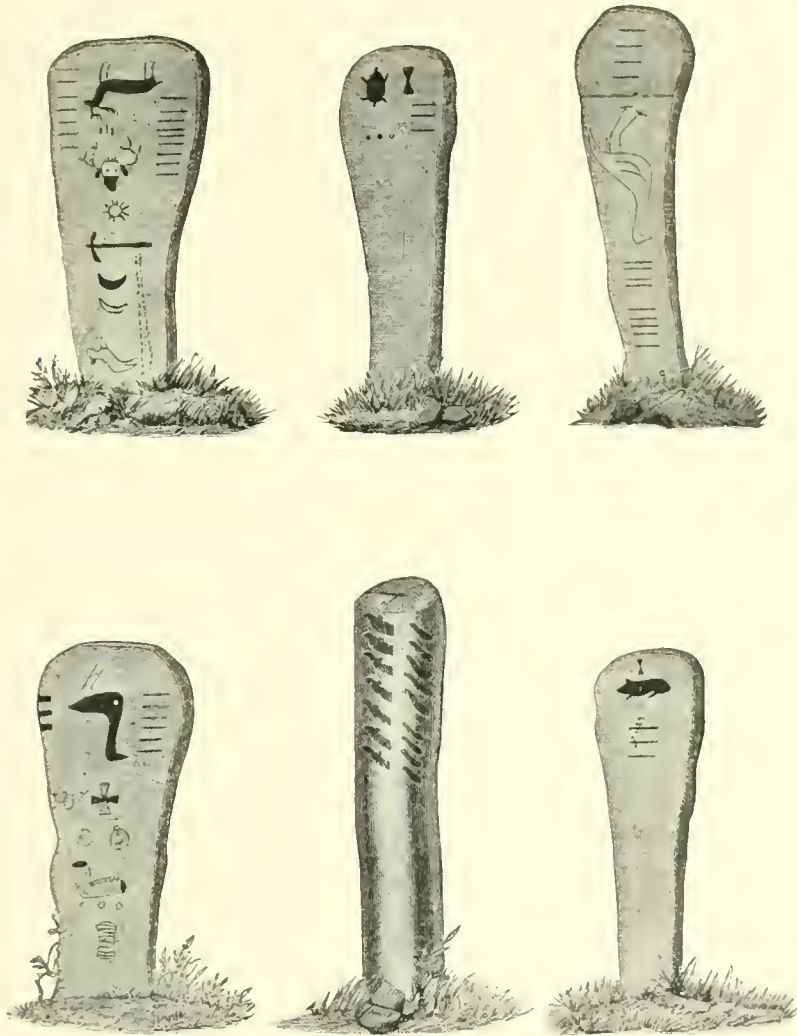


FIG. 12.—Ojibway grave-posts. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iv.)

his way to the principles upon which arches are constructed; nor was he carpenter enough to build a wooden structure of beams and girders. So it was necessary for him to swing across the chasm a frail, quivering

bridge of twisted ropes, over which one might circumspectly crawl, at some risk of tumbling into the abyss below. Could one ask for a more striking illustration of the difference in mental accomplishment between real civilization and that which we must still insist upon calling the midway station of barbarism? Yet if it pleases any one to call the people of Mexico and Peru half civilized, we can see no objection to such a use of language. The middle status of barbarism is about equivalent to a status of semi-civilization, and it is often convenient to employ such terminology. On the whole, when we regard the culture of these peoples as representing what they were able to achieve without the aid of domestic animals and other advantages possessed by the peoples of the Old World, their story becomes more profoundly interesting than ever, and our respect for them is not in the least diminished because we prefer to avoid extravagance in speaking of it.

But here the question may arise, Are we justified in assuming that the semi-civilization of the Cordilleras was truly indigenous, or was it communicated from Asia? We are told that many points in Aztec society remind us of similar points in Asia. Are we not therefore obliged to suppose that the one culture was borrowed from the other? With this end in view, a great many books have been written to show how it might have been possible within historic—or, at any rate, recent—ages for Asiatic people to have crossed the ocean and settled in America in sufficient numbers to have left their mark upon aboriginal society. The utmost that such attempts have accomplished, however, is to stop short of making any such occurrence seem probable. It was natural that such attempts should formerly be made, in the absence of such considerations as have only been reached in recent years by the study of comparative mythology. When we were but slightly acquainted with household tales and popular superstitions, if we found in a remote part of the world a story or a superstitious practice similar to those found in other parts, we were apt to jump to the conclusion that the one must have been copied from the other. But now the mythologies, the fireside lore, the charms, omens, and tokens of many races of men, in many different stages of civilization, lie before us in almost superfluous abundance; and as we take a comprehensive survey of them, we become convinced that such resemblances are mainly due, not to borrowing or copying, but to the general circumstance that the human mind operates in one country in very much the same fashion as in another. We are familiar with the divisions of society in England into parishes, hamlets, and counties; if we go back to the days of Hengist and Horsa, we see

that English society was made up of clans grouped into hundreds, which in turn were grouped into tribes. Society among the Iroquois was built up in exactly the same way ; first the clan, then the grouping of several clans into a phratry, then the union of phratries into a tribe. Now, does this resemblance indicate copying or borrowing? Did the Iroquois ever learn from the English how to make up their social fabric? Did the English invaders of Britain send over to America and learn a lesson from the Iroquois? The absurdity of the idea is obvious. No ; the clan was the unit of society, alike in early England and among the Iroquois, as in every other country and among all other peoples, simply because the clan was primarily an aggregation of persons whose common ancestry is a matter of immediate and certain knowledge. Alike, in all parts of the world, the expansion of such clans, both through direct descent and through the adoption of captives, has gone on until they have swelled into tribes ; while by the segmentation of groups of nearer relatives from more distant relatives, new clans have arisen within the tribe thus formed. But, for purposes of internal and external polity, it is desirable that within the tribe there should be groups larger than the single clans. In this way have arisen the phratries or hundreds, names applied to an aggregation of three or four clans for the purpose of bringing offenders to justice or of contributing a hundred warriors to the tribal host. It is therefore according to the natural exigency of things that primitive human societies should have become organized into clans, phratries, and tribes ; and in point of fact, wherever we can study any primitive form of society, we find that it has been so.

So, too, with popular stories. When we come to group them in classes according to their typical features, we find that several hundred stories can be reduced to perhaps a dozen dramatic situations. In other words, the themes of folklore are very few, while the variations played upon the themes are manifold. Most of the dramatic situations are very simple, representing scenes in which the sun and moon and clouds figure as heroes, or in which familiar beasts, like Br'er Rabbit, Massa Coyote, and Puss in Boots, engage in encounters of wit and resource suggested by the narrow experience of the narrators. As we look over the whole field, we become more and more impressed with the fact that in all parts of the world the human mind originates certain types of story quite independently of human minds in other countries. The entire momentum of such studies makes the independent origination of civilizations, in many respects similar to one another, seem one of the most natural things in the world, while we become more and more

between the eastern and western hemispheres until the modern ages of maritime discovery.

Let us now pass in review the aboriginal tribes of America, and observe in typical instances the kind of social position at which they had arrived when first visited by white men. We have seen that North America may be divided into four great areas: first, the Arctic region, home of the Eskimos; secondly, the region of savagery west of Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains, extending as far south as Colorado; thirdly, the region of the lower barbarism east of Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains, extending as far south as the Gulf of Mexico; and fourthly, the region of the middle barbarism or semi-civilization, extending from New Mexico and Arizona to the Isthmus of Panama. In South America, this region of semi-civilization is prolonged until we reach the lower barbarism of the Araucanians; while east of the Andes, savagery predominates, reaching perhaps its lowest phase among the starved inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego.

Let us first consider the lower barbarism of North America. We here encounter several groups of very different size and range, distinguished from each other primarily by their speech, while in some cases the linguistic difference is supplemented by others. By far the most widely spread and perhaps the most numerous of all these groups are the Algonquins, that range all the way from Nova Scotia to Dakota and Wyoming. To the Algonquin family belong alike the Blackfeet of the Rocky Mountains, the few survivors at Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard, the Micmacs of the lower British provinces, and the Ojibways of Lake Superior. Most of our old acquaintances on the Atlantic coast—the Powhatans, the Delaware confederacy, the Mohegans and Pequots and Narragansetts and Wampanoags—belong to this great family. West of the Alleghanies, the Shawnees, Miamis, Illinois, Saes and Foxes, Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Ojibways, were the best-known tribes of Algonquins. The southern limit of this family very nearly coincided with the southern boundaries of Virginia and Kentucky. Between that limit and the Gulf of Mexico were situated a number of tribes formerly classed together under the name of Mobilians, or else named from their principal confederacy, as Muskogee or Maskoki. On further acquaintance with them, however, we find that they belong to very different stocks. The name Maskoki is now retained as a designation comprising the Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. But, strange as it may seem, the Catawbas, who were formerly supposed to belong to this family, have lately been

proved to be genuine Sioux or Dakotas, an isolated offshoot from the formidable Indians who so lately ruled over Minnesota, Dakota, and neighboring regions. Again, the Cherokees, the most intelligent and powerful of the southern Indians, have been proved to be an outlying group of Iroquois, closely akin in blood and speech to the Indians of Central New York.

This last-named family was, in its native endowments, perhaps the highest group of Indians to be found in the lower status of barbarism. Among Europeans, Jacques Cartier was the first to describe them.



FIG. 14.—Ruins of Casa Grande, near Gila River, Arizona. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xiii.)

He found an Iroquois village called Hochelaga on the site where Montreal was afterward founded. His descriptions leave no doubt that these Indians were Iroquois; but when Champlain visited the same spot about seventy years later, all traces of Hochelaga had vanished, and no Iroquois population was to be found on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The centre of Iroquois power lay between the site of Albany and that of Buffalo, along the present line of the New York Central Railroad, where the five tribes known as Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas formed a close confederacy at some time during the fourteenth century or early in the fifteenth. Iroquois

tradition points back to a great chief, Hiawatha, as the founder of this confederation and enunciator of the constitutional principles which held it together. There is no good reason for doubting that this Hiawatha was an historical character. He has also been made the central figure of a group of legends, so that his position is like that of a New-World Lycurgus or Minos. Hiawatha has furnished the name for one of the most interesting and original of American poems; but, curiously enough, and unfortunately the Hiawatha of Longfellow is a very different creature from the Hiawatha of Iroquois tradition; the legends of which Longfellow has made him the hero are taken chiefly from the Ojibways and other northwestern tribes.

The geographical situation of the Five Nations combined with their persistent and intelligent policy to make them the most formidable of Indian powers. Situated on the best of highways, between the fur-bearing regions of the Great Lakes on the one hand and the rich wampum-beds of Long Island on the other, they became the wealthiest of Indians, as well as the most warlike. We shall see them in the course of the seventeenth century extending their sway as far south as Maryland and as far west as Illinois. Other tribes of Iroquois outside the great confederacy were the Hurons, east of the great lake which bears their name, the Eries on the south of Lake Erie, with the Andastes or Susquehannocks, who have left their name upon one of the noblest of American rivers. Besides these were two remote outlying groups: the Cherokees, already mentioned, and the Tuscaroras of North Carolina.

Thus, for the whole of North America eastward of the meridian of Duluth, we find the Indians grouped in three great families: Maskoki, Algonquins, and Iroquois, together with an isolated offshoot of the Dakotas. Between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, there occur some very interesting smaller groups: one of these consists only of the Pawnees, with their allies, the Arikarees. Another group, one of the most interesting of all, is that of the Mandans and Minnitarées; these rank as in some respects the most intelligent of all the aborigines of the lower status.

This is perhaps as convenient a place as any to correct a widespread popular misconception. When we study small groups like the Pawnees and Mandans, we find strong reason for regarding them as the survivors of groups that were once much more numerous and wide in range. There can be very little doubt that, under the crushing conditions of Indian warfare, tribes were from time to time virtually annihilated by slaughtering a large part and incorporating the remainder into the

ranks of the victors; that this process may have gone on in some cases until it resulted in the extinction of a whole stock is not at all unlikely. This may well have been the case with such groups as the Mandans and Pawnees. It is very widely believed that the Indians, as a whole, have been similarly dwindling away under the effect of warfare with white men. The impossibility of teaching civilization to the Indians and their disappearance before its pitiless advance are among the commonplaces of literature and oratory; yet, like many other commonplaces, they are based upon an entire misconception of the facts.

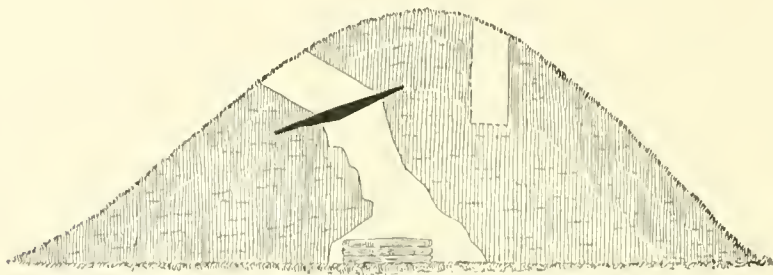


FIG. 15. Section of Ohio burial-ground. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. v.)

The truth seems to be, that, since the arrival of white men on this continent, Indians have perished much less rapidly than before. The effect of the white man's arrival has been to put an end to the tribal warfare that formerly prevailed through large areas of the country. It is the opinion of all competent students of the subject that the Indian population of the United States is very much greater to-day than it was in the seventeenth century, and that, instead of diminishing, it is increasing. It is difficult at first to believe this, but a little illustration will help the reader.

We seldom realize how sparse was the aboriginal population of this country. The reader of early American history cannot fail to be struck with the fact that a small force of fifty or sixty men would sometimes be sent to the frontier to hold a stretch of wilderness as great as a whole State; and what is more, they succeeded in doing it. This was because the enemies were so few in number. At the height of its great power, in the seventeenth century, the league of the Iroquois could put into the field nearly 3000 warriors—implying, perhaps, a total population of ten or twelve thousand. The number of Iroquois now living in the vicinity of the New York Central Railroad is much greater than

that; yet, when we think of New York to-day, we do not think of Iroquois at all. The difference is that the few warriors of the seventeenth century controlled a great extent of country and were an important military power; to-day their descendants, though more numerous, are merely obscure farmers, lost to sight in a population of seven millions. This illustration will make the matter clear, for the case is similar in some other settled parts of the country.

Let me add that it is likewise fallacious to suppose that the Indian is incapable of learning civilization. Quite the contrary. His intelligence and docility are much greater than he has had credit for. When the French, under Courcelles, invaded the Mohawk country in 1666, they

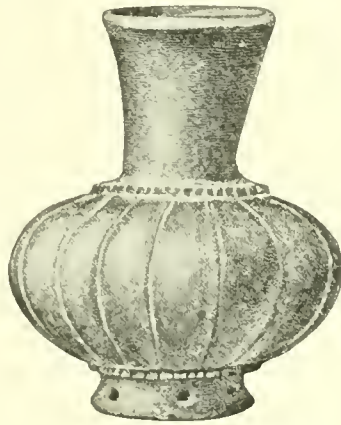


FIG. 16.—Fluted bottle, from an Arkansas mound. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iv.)

were astonished to see how much those Indians had learned from the friendly Dutch since the time when Champlain had visited them, half a century before. In the building of their fortresses they had been quick to adopt some European ideas, much to their advantage. At the time of the Revolutionary War, they were building framed wooden houses with cellars, after the English fashion, and had introduced into their diet many European vegetables. Indeed, a careful observation of the Indians will show that they are quick to adopt any device of civilization, of which they can see the usefulness. It may also be observed that if you take a wild Indian, wash off his paint and grease, and dress him in a tweed suit with a Derby hat, his outlandish appearance is apt to vanish. Doubtless he retains certain well-marked facial peculiarities, but it is surprising how easily one might mistake him for a white man.

Visit any of the great Indian schools, such as those at Hampton, Va., Carlisle, Penna., and Lawrence, Kan., and one cannot fail to be impressed with this. Under these circumstances, the true statement of the case is, that the aboriginal population of the United States is not becoming extinct, but is rapidly getting modified, absorbed, and lost to sight in the general mass of population.

Between these various groups of Indians in the lower status of barbarism many gradations might be observed : while, on the one hand, the Ojibways and some of the New England tribes, such as the Micmaes, had not advanced far from savagery, on the other hand, the Cherokees and Mandans had nearly attained to the middle status. One and all, however, show the same social structure ; and here it may be said that the American aborigines are supremely interesting subjects of study, because they have retained in something like its primitive simplicity that structure of society which in the Old World has been so obscured by the progress of political civilization that it requires much research to detect it. Among all the Indian tribes, the groups of clan, phratry, tribe, and confederacy are distinctly visible. Let us speak first of the clan. Among many of the tribes we find it to have been exogamous ; that is to say, a man was prohibited from taking a wife from his own clan. Most of the tribes reckoned kinship only through the mother ; thus, two sons of the same father by different mothers would be entirely unrelated to each other. Their fraternity was unrecognized. So, too, with the succession to a chieftainship ; when the English were told by a certain chieftain that the son of his sister would inherit his office, but that the son of his brother had no claim upon it, they thought they were being trifled with ; it seemed to them that such a thing could not be true. Nevertheless, that was the common custom, although not universal.

The conception of the family was not distinctly extricated from that of the clan, and it found expression in the arrangement of their houses. Most of these Indian wigwams were spacious structures, capable of sheltering from twenty to fifty families, with their winter stores. In general, they may be classed under two types, the round house and the long house. Among the tribes of the Atlantic coast both types occurred ; but the long house was much the more common. The famous scene in which John Smith was rescued from death by Pocahontas occurred near one end of one of these long houses. They were common alike among Algonquins and Iroquois ; but, for my illustration, I will choose a long house of the Senecas. Its length might vary from 80 to 200 feet,

with an average width of from 20 to 40 feet; the width was usually from a fourth to a fifth of the length. The frame was formed of strong saplings very firmly driven into the ground and held in place by transverse beams. The roof was supported on rafters, in the construction of which a fair skill in carpentry was shown, especially when we consider that the only tools used were of finely chipped and polished stone. In the middle of each end was a doorway, not closed by a door, but covered with a portière of buffalo-robe or some kind of woven blanket. Through the centre of the house was the passageway from door to door; on either side, the space was divided into alcoves, in each of which were rows of shelves for beds, like the berths in a ship. One or two of the end compartments were reserved for the winter stores of corn and beans, pumpkins, and dried venison. At intervals along the central aisle, groups of stones were laid, on which to build the fires for warmth or for cooking; and over each fireplace a hole in the roof served to let out some of the smoke. The walls and roof were closely and neatly covered with bark. It was seldom that a clay kettle was not boiling, or perhaps some bird or squirrel broiling, over one or more of the fires. Each of the compartments held a family, of which the head was the wife. When a couple were married, the bridegroom came to the communal house of his wife's clan. His tenure of his position there often depended upon his behavior, for the marriage-tie was loose; and an unworthy husband who proved irreclaimable after repeated scoldings from the elder squaws might be summarily turned out of the house and sent about his business.

It was seldom, perhaps, that a single house held an entire clan;

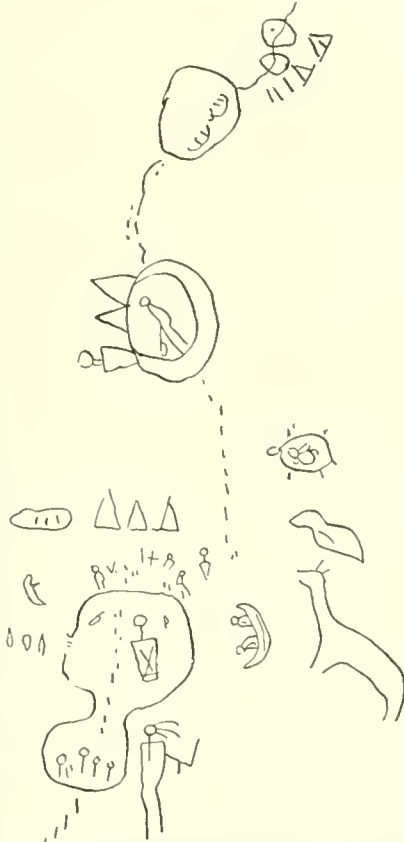


FIG. 17.—Ojibway battle-record. From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. x.

among such a large tribe as the Senecas a clan would fill a good many houses, all of them being the clan's property. Individual ownership of real estate was unknown, perhaps inconceivable; the idea of a single proprietor building a house, surrounding himself with servants, and fencing out his neighbors was one which had never occurred to the Indian mind. Domestic privacy was therefore something quite unknown. Every Indian lived under the gaze of his fellows, and was constrained and hampered by public opinion to an extent which the civilized man cannot possibly



FIG. 18. California rock-painting. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. x.)

realize. It was this unwritten ceremonial and social regimen exercised by public opinion which controlled their actions far more than any governmental ordinances.

While real estate was unknown, individuals might possess personal property, consisting chiefly of clothes, weapons, utensils, and personal adornments. Perhaps no article of property possessed a higher value than the scalp of a slain enemy, for it was an unmistakable token of personal valor or address in fighting. The Indian's state of mind was one which naturally results from perpetual warfare. It was seldom that a tribe was not at war with at least one enemy or competitor. To a certain

extent, this state of existence, if not one of perpetual fear, was one which called for ceaseless vigilance. At any time in the darkness of midnight a hostile party might rush through the long wigwam, dashing out the brains of sleepers right and left, slaying a number before the alarm could be taken, and then perhaps hurrying away as quickly as it had come. Under these circumstances, as a rule, no young warrior could hope to find favor in the eyes of the young squaws until he could show a string of scalps as trophies of his prowess. Success in hunting large game brought with it a desirable reputation, but the supreme test of merit was ability to slay the enemy. Another test of merit was ability to undergo the extremes of physical torture without flinching, and for this the ceremonies and sports of the young Indian prepared him; for death in the extremes of torture might be the fate of any member of the community, and he was under a sort of religious obligation to meet it with calm courage.

The atrocity of torture in which the Indians indulged was such that the pen refuses to describe it. In such matters the red man was a finished artist; he studied the exact capacity for suffering in every nerve of the body, and used his knowledge without the smallest pity or compunction. Such practices as searing the armpits with firebrands, driving sharp splinters under the nails, pulling sinews out of place with pincers, were among the mildest of the torments. The question has been raised whether these people were really pre-eminent in cruelty, or were not perhaps equalled or surpassed by Europeans of the Middle Ages in their judicial tortures, particularly those devised by the Inquisition. It is possible, however, to discern a difference in motive which throws light upon the difference in temperament in these two widely remote grades of culture. Judicial torture was often inflicted without cruel purpose, in order to secure some important object, such as the detection of criminals or the overthrow of a conspiracy. The men who burned heretics at the stake did not always enjoy their horrid work; sometimes a hardhearted wretch would jeer at the victim, as in the case of the priest in Bloody Mary's time, who mocked the poor boy, William Hunter, as he went to the stake, and assured him that the fire then kindling was but the beginning of that which was to burn him through all eternity. On the other hand, when the tailor, John Badby, was burned at Smithfield in 1402, and Prince Henry, afterward Henry V., was present at the scene, when the poor man shrieked as the flames shot up about him, the prince could not endure the sight; the fire was quenched, and he begged the prisoner to recant and not make it neces-

sary to inflict upon him such a dreadful death. Badby refused, and the fires were relighted. But it will be seen that Prince Henry's mood was not precisely the mood of the Indian. No doubt, the prime object in the torture of captives was to get even with the enemy, to balance the account by inflicting as much suffering as had been received; for that kind of book-keeping there was a religious sanction, for sparing a captive might bring down the wrath of the tutelar deities of the tribe. It would be unfair, therefore, to set down all the horrible practices of Indian executions as due solely to cruelty; nevertheless, at the risk of shocking the reader beyond endurance, I must cite one typical instance for the instruction which it contains.

In 1868, during one of our petty border wars, a brave white soldier was captured by a party of Comanches; for several days they treated him with so much kindness and expressed so much admiration for his gallantry as to lead him to think they intended to spare his life; but this time was really consumed in devising the worst means of killing him. Inducements were held out to competitors who should exercise their ingenuity in devising atrocities; at last, when they had arrived at a suitable place on one of those high plateaus, a spade was given him and he was ordered to dig a hole as if for a post; when the hole was sufficiently deep, he was thrust in up to his neck, and the earth was shoveled in about him, firmly pressed into place, holding him there with arms imprisoned, nothing free below the neck. Then they scalped him, cut off his ears, nose, lips, and eyelids, and left him to himself. They rode away in a spirit of extreme hilarity, exulting and laughing, as they told one another how he would suffer during the day in the glare of the sun, only to be revived by the cool, breezy nights of that high altitude. They reckoned that he could live four days before succumbing; and in order to secure this end so far as possible, they had given him a hearty meal just before the horrid scene began. So great was their delight that the demon who suggested the plan occupied from that day a position of greatly increased influence and authority.

It is sometimes impossible to judge a situation rightly without weighing the meaning of all the details, and that must be my excuse for inflicting such horrors upon the reader. I assure him that it is by no means an extreme or unusual instance, and I fancy it will help to make it plain that the cruelty of the Indian is of a lower and more ferocious kind than that of the mediæval European. But the moral is, that in the one case, as in the other, the degree of cruelty is apt to bear some proportion to the degree in which the business of life is monopolized by

fighting. We modern Americans are accustomed to think of ourselves as exceptionally humane, and in this opinion we are justified. It is therefore interesting to remember that, since the Norman conquest of England, fighting has played a much smaller part in the life of our ancestors than in that of any other people in Europe; and what fighting there has been has, in the main, occurred in remote places, where its brutalizing effects have not been brought home to each man's door.

In the omnipresence of annihilating warfare, aboriginal America presents such a spectacle as the Old World doubtless everywhere witnessed before great empires had been formed. The building-up of a nation, implying strength of central government, and the devotion of a large part of the population to industry, even if the labor is servile,

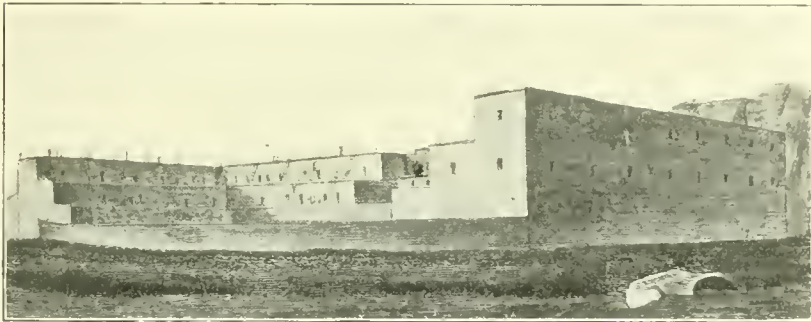


FIG. 19.—Restoration of Pueblo Hnugo Pavié. (Morgan, "Houses of American Aborigines.")

form an immense check upon warfare. They limit its scope and duration and reduce it from universal murder to a system of blows such as can be directed only through advanced organization. The mere fact that an empire covers an area which was once inhabited by independent tribes shows how much empire makes for peace; for, throughout that area, police is substituted for warfare. In aboriginal America we find no such thing as empire, properly speaking, until we come to that of the Incas; and we shall hereafter see that in mildness of character the Peruvians were different from most of the other aborigines.

To return to the clan and its formation. Most Indian clans bear the name of some familiar animal or fowl: the wolf, turkey, hawk, badger, bear, or snake. In folklore, the clansmen are called wolves or bears, children of a primitive wolf or bear; and the actual belief in lineal descent from some four-footed animal is not obscurely hinted. Some rudely carved effigy of the bear or turkey serves as the totem or

badge of the clan, and is often venerated as a fetish. Among the Thlinkets of Alaska it is customary to surround a communal household, or perhaps a village, with tall poles, at the top of which these totems are suspended. It is believed that these tutelar deities watch over the home, keep away witches and demons, listen to the prayers of the occupants, and vouchsafe them prosperity in their undertakings. The totem is thus substantially equivalent to what we call a heathen idol or a god made with human hands; but, in this form of expression, injustice was done to the poor heathen, for no doubt even the Thlinket does not exactly worship the hideous physiognomy which he has carved and painted, but to him it is a symbol of an unseen Power which he does adore.

The clan is not only the owner of its houses and the fields which it cultivates, but it is responsible to other clans for all injuries inflicted upon individuals. For instance, if an Indian is murdered, it is an injury done to his clan by depriving it of a warrior, and that injury must be repaired. Where the two clans are in hostile tribes reparation is demanded, and, if not made, war becomes necessary; the tutelar deities will not be satisfied unless a reprisal is made upon the offending clan. The frequency of warfare under such circumstances is not surprising; but where the two clans are in the same tribe reparation can usually be adjusted without much trouble. Compensation is made by *wergild* or *man-money*, as among our forefathers in England, and indeed everywhere in early society. The amount of the *wergild* might bear some relation to the importance of the murdered person. The man, a warrior, was rated more highly than the woman, a laborer; and a great chief naturally had a higher *wergild* than a half-grown boy.

It is interesting to see the same clan running through different tribes; thus, there was a bear clan among the Mohawks and among the Senecas. An individual Mohawk had thus two kinds of relationships: he was a member of the Mohawk tribe, and, as such, owed to it in many respects his first allegiance; yet, as a member of the bear clan, he was in theory related by blood to the Senecas of the same clan. Such relationships had in them something of a wool-and-warp quality, and in many cases facilitated confederacy. In this respect it was important. No Indian could ever conceive any other reason for common political and military action except community of blood. It was necessary, in theory, for all the members of the clan to be united by the bonds of a common descent. So wedded to this theory was the Indian mind that, when the interests of the clan made it necessary to introduce strangers into its ranks, the

introduction could only be effected by a ceremony of adoption. In other words, by a legal fiction the stranger, on being received, was supposed to be descended from the primeval ancestor of the clan. This has been a rule not only with Indians, but with primitive people all over the earth. It is one of the earliest and most happy instances of the use of legal fictions in enabling the dull, conservative human mind to adopt unfamiliar courses of action. We will do the new thing since we are obliged to, but we will go on calling it the old thing. This little bit of self-cheating has helped humanity through many tight places.

In the history of the Indians, the process of adoption plays a mighty part. Amid the universal fighting, the strength of a victorious tribe was largely recruited by this method. With this we must associate some of the peculiarities of Indian warfare. It has been customary to call the Indian a coward, because he usually fights behind trees and seldom risks his life in open contest. Perhaps the matter admits of an explanation more satisfactory, though not quite so simple. It may be freely admitted that the white man's courage is of a higher kind than the Indian's. For many ages the white man has been accustomed to rush boldly through swarms of hostile projectiles, or to charge in masses, sabre in hand, and snatch victory from the jaws of death. Such work is a school of the highest courage; and in this stern school, white men have been nurtured. Such fighting has been waged usually for the capture of a stronghold or the sweeping away of an obstacle, no matter what the sacrifice. Such is the nature of fighting between nations that put armies into the field. With the fighting of simple tribes the object is different. The available stock of human life is small and must be economized, while the most effective way to injure the enemy is not to storm strongholds or drive battalions from commanding positions, but to fritter away his strength by slaying his warriors. At the same time, there is no military organization and very slight subordination of parts to the whole. Naturally, therefore, the object of each warrior is not only to slay the enemy, but to keep himself out of harm's way. The slaughter of many of the foe is of little use, if it costs an equally great slaughter of friends; and rather than incur a great sacrifice, the Indian will often stop fighting and withdraw from the scene, not so much because he is afraid as because he deems it unprofitable to stay.

It was also a great object with an Indian tribe to take living captives. If it were possible to take one of the hostile force captive instead of killing him, the Indian preferred to do so; and if a goodly stock of prisoners were secured, it was the most pleasing kind of vic-

tory. The captives were carefully taken home. They were to subserve a double purpose: some were to be adopted, in order to increase the fighting strength; they were much more useful as friendly warriors than as corpses. Those who were not adopted were to be put to death with torture, and thus bring the balance of injury on to the right side of the ledger. It was therefore customary, after a tribe had returned from a successful military expedition, for the whole village to assemble; then the prisoners of sound and athletic frame would be selected by the old men as sons, or by the young women as husbands. If any member of the tribe saw fit to interpose and claim a captive, even after he had been adjudged to death, this intercession was scrupulously respected; and such is evidently what happened in the case of the rescue of John Smith by Pocahontas. The remainder of the prisoners, who for whatever reason were not adopted, were reserved for the torture; and the orgies amid which they were put to death might extend over several days.

Sometimes the choice between adoption and torture was narrow and precarious. A fine young Algonquin warrior had once been selected for adoption by an aged Huron chief, and the relations between the two had been most affectionate for two or three days, when it was suddenly discovered that some of the young man's fingers had been lamed so as to impair his ability to use the tomahawk or draw the bow; the ceremony of adoption had not yet been performed, and the old chieftain, with much sadness, informed his young friend that this physical defect made him useless to the tribe. "You know the alternative," said the old man. "I do; what manner of death shall it be?" "By fire," said the old chief. "It is well," replied the young man, and said not another word. The next night, he was put to death with torments which lasted nearly seven hours. Such instances show how business-like the Indians were about such matters, how little emotion seems to have been wasted upon them.

The process of adoption was accompanied by ceremonies for the propitiation of the tutelar deities, and thenceforth the strangers were regarded as members of the tribe and behaved themselves as such. The process was so commonly employed that some powerful tribes probably owed nearly half their fighting strength to captives thus acquired. If the captive belonged to a clan common to the victorious and the vanquished tribe, he remained in the same clan after his adoption; if, however, his clan was one which had no representative among the victors, it was necessary for him to be initiated into some of the existing clans.

In all the American tribes, we find phratries or groups of clans; usually two or three, sometimes a greater number. One of the chief objects of the phratry organization was maintaining a kind of tribal police, establishing the wergild in cases of murder, and inflicting punishment for various offences. The phratry had its own ceremonial observances, distinct from those of the single clans.

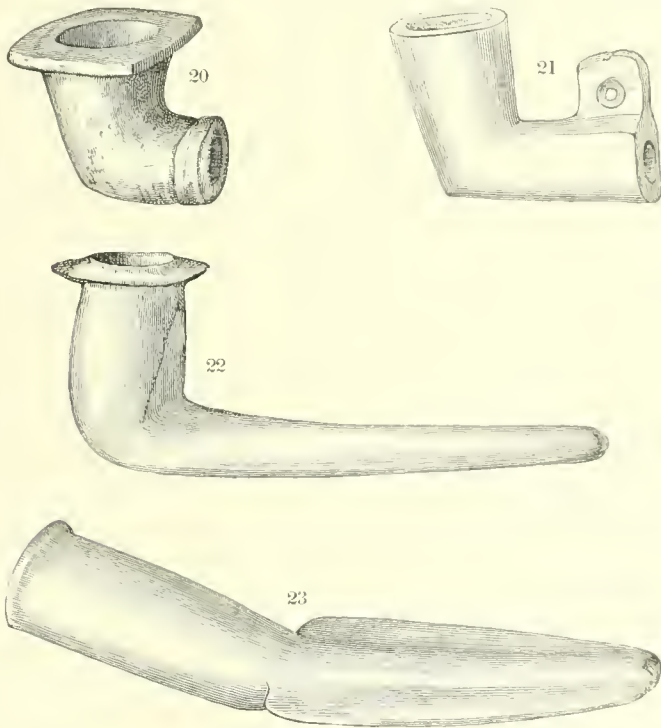
The union of several phratries, usually not less than three or four, constituted a tribe—or, as it was sometimes absurdly called by white men, a “nation.” Of course, it need hardly be said that nothing which can properly be called a nation existed anywhere in aboriginal America, except that in Peru some of the earliest and rudest stages of national development had been attained. The government of an Indian tribe was substantially democratic, though partaking of some of the features of aristocracy with incipient monarchy. By time-honored custom, the government was vested in the tribal council, which any grown-up warrior might attend. In some tribes, married women also attended the tribal council, representing their especial clans. The meeting of the council was apt to be an occasion of great discussion. While the warriors quietly smoked their red clay pipes, one after another would rise and address the assembly in guttural tones and with arguments often highly elaborate and ingenious. Occasionally some remark of the speaker was greeted with exclamations of “Ugh!” which was equivalent to the English Parliamentary “Hear! Hear!” While the discussion was going on, the younger and less important members of the tribe stood about and listened, sometimes expressing their assent or disapproval by murmurs, or occasionally assailing some foolish or feeble speaker with sarcastic cries and coarse badinage. The vote of the council was final until revoked by the same body. The principal civil officers were the sachems—in theory, chosen by the tribe; but practically the office had become hereditary by usage. The principal executive officer was the head war-chief. In some cases there were two head war-chiefs, who somewhat limited each other’s authority, as in the case of the two Roman consuls. The war-chief was supposed to be elected by the tribal council, which could also depose him; but in practice the election was confined within the limits of a single clan, and often to a particular family. In the Iroquois confederacy, the head war-chief was always a Seneca, an arrangement which can perhaps be explained by the fact that that tribe occupied the position most exposed to attack. In their own picturesque language, the Five Nations called their confederacy The Long House, with its eastern door held by the Mohawks near

Schenectady, and its western door looking westward from Genesee Lake.

Besides the chiefs and sachems, there can hardly be said to have been any social distinction among the Indians. Even the head war-chief had but slight pre-eminence. In warfare his orders were fairly well obeyed, and he was usually treated with deference; but his authority extended to but few matters. As a ruler, his function was but slight, compared with that of the tribal council. There was nothing like an organized priesthood; but certain members of the tribe, more skilled in rude medicine than their fellows, were the chief depositaries of the tribe's mythical lore. These half-developed priests were known as medicine-men. They not only cured diseases, but consulted omens and performed incantations for detecting witches. This last is a very important business with all uncivilized people. To the Indian and all men in his grade of culture, since nothing is known about laws of nature, all death means murder, either at the hands of some human being who must be detected and punished, or at the hands of some supernatural power which needs to be propitiated. Hence one of the principal duties of the medicine-man is to find out who bewitched the sick person. The crime of witchcraft was apt to be punished by death, and here we have probably one cause of the sparseness of Indian population. The number slain for witchcraft must have been quite considerable.

Such was the simple social structure of the Americans in the lower status of barbarism. It sufficed for the requirements of a very simple and monotonous existence. The occupations of the Indian may be briefly summed up: for the men, at all seasons the chase, and at almost all seasons the fighting; for the women, at the proper times of year the planting and reaping of vegetables, the general care of the children and the house. Both sexes were skilled in the making of canoes and more or less of the simple carpenter-work required by their dwellings. The drying of beans and corn or of venison and buffalo-meat, the chipping of stone lance-heads and arrow-heads, the polishing of tomahawks and securing them by sinews to their strong hickory handles, the polishing and stringing of belts of wampum, the various work in feathers required by Indian millinery, the making of moccasins and other things from the bark of trees—such occupation consumed a large part of the time in all these aboriginal villages, yet left plenty of leisure for ball-games, religious dances, mock fights, love-making, practical jokes, and basking in the sun.

The lower status of barbarism thus briefly sketched extended over all the territory of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains. Have we any reason to suppose that any higher grade of culture has ever existed within the same area? Until lately it has been supposed that there once was such a higher grade. A very considerable part of the Mississippi valley abounds in earth-works, sometimes extremely curious and interesting in form and commonly known as mounds. Very famous groups of such mounds are found at Newark (Fig. 13) and Marietta, as

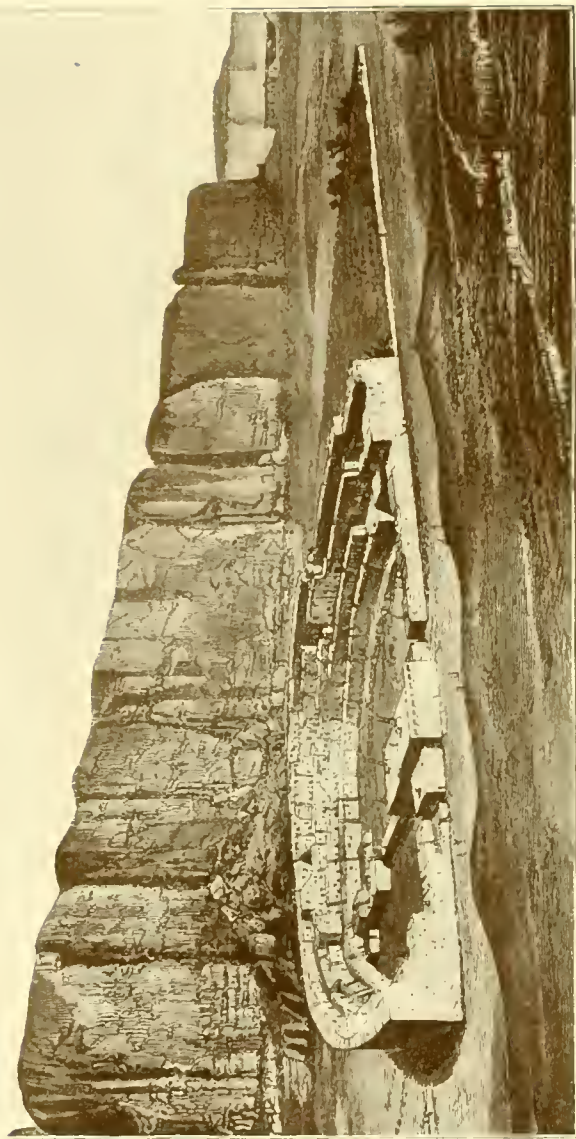


FIGS. 20-23. Pipes from Tennessee mounds. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xiii.)

well as other points in Ohio; also at Madison, Wis., in the neighborhood of St. Louis, and many other places. Sometimes these earth-works are very impressive from their size; sometimes their shape, resembling that of sundry birds or quadrupeds, is calculated to awaken speculation. It was first assumed, and not unnaturally, that the construction of these works implied a denser population and better organization of labor than could be found among the Indians. Some of the objects found in the mounds, such as ornamented pipes (Figs. 20-23), hatchets, and bows, seemed to

indicate the presence of higher culture than that attained by Indians. It was therefore concluded that the continent had once been the seat of a civilization now extinct. The empire of the civilized mound-builders was supposed to have been overwhelmed by waves of barbarism, somewhat as the Roman empire was overrun by Germanic and Slavonic tribes. Some people fancied that these mound-builders were of a race now entirely extinct; others supposed that they might have been Indians like those of Mexico and Central America, who have been driven westward and southward from their old seats by a deluge of northern barbarism. Such views were entertained while the study of the mounds and their contents was in its infancy. Within the last thirty years, much systematic research has been devoted to this subject in many quarters, especially by the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington and by the Department of American Archaeology at Harvard University. The results may be seen in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and in the Smithsonian Institution. The conclusion which we may now consider established is, that the mounds were built not by a race now extinct, nor by such Indians as are now represented in the pueblos of New Mexico, nor by any persons similar to the Aztecs and Mayas, but by the ancestors of the same Indians who were found in the seventeenth century occupying the places where the mounds are standing. A minute study of the objects contained in them superabundantly proves that the culture possessed by their builders was no higher than that of the Mohawks or Cherokees in the seventeenth century. Moreover, the Cherokees have built similar mounds since the arrival of white men in America. These conclusions do not rob the mounds of their interest as subjects of antiquarian study; for they show that at certain periods, and under the influence of circumstances not altogether understood, the Indian has taken to defending his villages by earth-works, and has afterward, under changed conditions, abandoned such methods. The case is perhaps not altogether unlike that of our own forefathers in England. In the days of King Alfred, it was common for them to occupy walled towns, while small villages were defended by palisades and moats; but castles were not common. In the course of the eleventh century, England was covered with castles, each one of them the property of some powerful lord or knight, whose hand was raised against other lords and knights. The ruins of many of these old castles still stand in England, eloquent and romantic voices from the past. During a certain time they served a worthy purpose; but presently they ceased to be needed, and in some cases became obstructive to progress. We do not find it neces-

PLATE I.



Restoration of Pueblo Bonito.
From Morgan, "Houses of the American Aborigines,"
History of All Nations, Vol. XVI, page 57.

sary to imagine a race of castle-builders who were driven out from England by our forefathers; and no more is it necessary to fancy a race of mound-builders who were driven from America by the forefathers of the Indians whom we know. When, therefore, questions are asked concerning the empire of the mound-builders, the proper reply is, there never was any such empire, but the Indians of the lower status at some time and in sundry places built mounds.

This mention of defensive structures brings us naturally to consider the Indians of the middle status of barbarism: those which are best represented for us to-day by the Moki and the Zuñi pueblos of New Mexico. We have seen above that one of the chief distinguishing characteristics of this status is the strength and elaborateness of its fortifications, which, at the outset, involved the making of adobe brick. An early step in the transition toward this style of defence may be seen perhaps in the round wigwams of the Mandans. These are large circular edifices framed with saplings whose heads are bent so as to meet over the centre of the floor. The building, which may be roughly called a large dome resting upon the ground, might hold twenty or thirty families, each in a separate compartment. These compartments are shaped like the cuts of a pie. Instead of the many fires of the long house, there is here one central fire which throws its warmth and light down every one of the compartments radiating from the central circular fireplace. Instead of the easily inflammable bark covering of most Indian houses, these Mandan wigwams are covered with woven rushes thickly smeared with clay, which, after drying in the sun, is proof against attacks by fire. In many cases the round house is entered by only one doorway, made so low that it is necessary for a man to stoop considerably in order to go through. Obviously, for purposes of defence, these wigwams are far superior to the long bark houses of the Iroquois, though in many respects they are less convenient. I dare say the ancestors of the pueblo Indians may at some remote time have built houses similar to those of the Mandans; if so, it was but the first stage in a long development. The distance between the modern pueblo and any kind of wigwam is surprising. In the first place, the lower status of barbarism lived entirely on the ground floor—it knew nothing of second stories; but the Zuñi and Moki pueblos rise to the height of five or six stories, and the same is true of the wonderful ruined pueblos of Bonito (PLATE I.), Hango Pavié (Fig. 19), and others, which are perhaps as impressive as any buildings in the world. Among these pueblos are great diversities of design. For example,

Hungo Pavie covers three sides of a hollow square; the interior of the building, facing upon the square, is but one story in height. It is surrounded on the outside by a similar structure of two stories, while, outside of this, comes a three-story structure whose walls look out upon the surrounding country. The fourth side of the square is occupied by a solid wall without any doorway. Access to the enclosed courtyard can only be gained in Robinson Crusoe's fashion, by a ladder which is let down from inside and drawn in again after using. The ascent from story to story is also made by such movable ladders. All the walls, within and without, are pierced with loopholes, affording endless chances for worrying an approaching force.

Pueblo Bonito, while constructed on the same principles, affords quite a different type. The general shape reminds one of an amphitheatre, the semicircular building rising in height from one to five stories as you go from the courtyard to the outer circumference. The terminal diameter, or base of this semicircle, is a solid wall with one narrow entrance strongly guarded by fortified wings. Ladders and loopholes occur as in the other pueblo just described. In all their varieties, these structures must have been almost impregnable to assault. It was impossible to set fire to the adobe brick, and equally impossible to breach or crumble it by any projectiles known to the Indians. The only possible way of subduing such a community was to cut off its water-supply. As these people did not understand boring wells, they were dependent upon sluices. Instead of being built on hilltops, they were usually situated near the base of a cliff, down from which their water was brought. It was of course necessary for the garrison of a pueblo to be able to execute sallies in sufficient force to protect their sluices; but in most cases this may be presumed to have been feasible, for the population of the pueblo was apt to number from two to five thousand, and against such a number it would be difficult to bring an overwhelming force on account of the difficulties both of water-supply and of commissariat which beset these desert countries. Such architecture shows, of course, an immense advance over any kind of wigwam; and indeed the Indians of the pueblos are in many ways noticeably different from those of the lower status. To one who first meets them in personal intercourse after having been accustomed to ordinary Indians, the difference is so great that it is hard to imagine any kinship. They impress us more like civilized Japanese or Hindoos, whom they rival in polished elegance of manner.

A somewhat lower grade of development than that shown by these



Ruins of Casa Blanca, Cañon de Chelly, Arizona.

Powell, "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xvi.

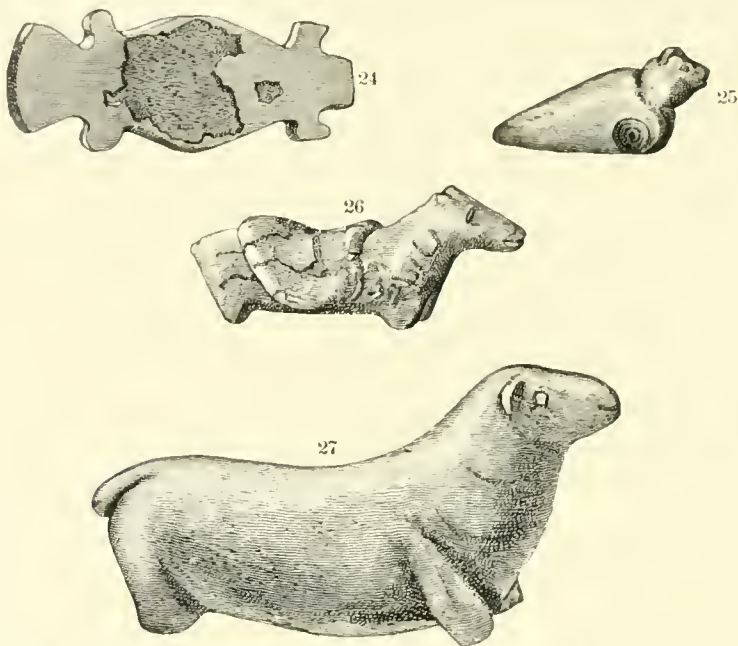
History of All Nations, Vol. XVI, page 56.

pueblo fortresses is represented by the famous cliff-dwellings, of which so many are found in the region of the Cordilleras. The selection of an inaccessible site seems to involve less advance in knowledge and arts than the construction of great and elaborate fortifications; yet the cliff-dwellings often indicate marvelous ingenuity. High up on the mountain-side, advantage is taken of some deep recess. The ascent thereto is made possible by faint indications of steps, affording a precarious foothold only for those who become practised in their use, putting a stranger to a disadvantage at every step. The edge of the dizzy recess is strongly fortified by walls of adobe, while within are raised the compartments in which the different clans and families dwell. While such is the general type of structure, there is a good deal of variation in details; and among the relics of prehistoric times in America, scarcely any are more interesting than these. The cliff-dweller, of course, lived at a great altitude above his garden. It was difficult to accomplish the distance between his eyrie and his standing corn, for purposes of protection. It was comparatively easy for the enemy to destroy the garden; and if the cliff-dweller wished to avoid starvation, it behooved him to have a plentiful supply of dried maize and pounded meats stored in the recesses of his abode. One seems to descry a transition from the cliff-dwelling to such a pueblo as that of Walpi, situated on the summit of a lofty and difficult hill, somewhat remote from the principal garden and the water-supply. Pueblos like Bonito and Hundo Pavié, already described, represent a still greater advance.

The number of pueblos distributed over the area of New Mexico, Arizona, and the northern provinces of Mexico must have been very considerable. In Southern Arizona we even find something like extensive cities buried in the sands. Extensive traces of irrigation show that the areas in which corn was raised must have been very large. It is very silly to talk, as many people do, about there having been a civilization in those regions comparable to ancient Rome and afterward succumbing to barbarian attack. There is nothing whatever to indicate the former presence of such a civilization; but there is much reason to believe that the state of things which we now find at Moki and Zuñi once prevailed over that entire region, and that it was gradually destroyed by savage foes, especially by the terrible Apaches—that most savage Bedonin of the western hemisphere. Even the eyries of the cliff-dwellers did not save them; for it may be supposed that, where the foe could not carry them by assault, he succeeded in starving them out. At all events, however it happened, that interesting population is all

gone, with the exception of a few remnants. These remnants are excellent people. It should be the duty of our government to treat them with the strictest justice, to meddle with them as little as possible; and it is incumbent upon scholars interested in the prehistoric ages to seize the present time for studying them while as yet the old features of their life are not destroyed.

Supreme interest attaches to these pueblos, since we have come to realize that their social structure is much like that which prevailed throughout Mexico and Central America at the time of the Spanish conquest. The great palaces built of adobe and covered with white



FIGS. 24-27.—Navajo fetishes. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. ii.)

gypsum, which so astonished the soldiers of Cortes, and which they supposed to be feudal castles, were really immense pueblos. Not only did such buildings grow to a great size among the semi-civilized peoples of Mexico and Central America, but they were often elaborately ornamented with heads of serpents, with figures of deities in human shape, and with complicated hieroglyphics, most of which have not yet been deciphered. Aggregations of such buildings made cities like ancient Mexico, with a population of perhaps sixty or eighty thousand souls. Remains of such cities are now to be found in Yucatan, Honduras,

Chiapas, and elsewhere, and are among the most impressive remains of antiquity that could anywhere be found. The ruins of such cities as Uxmal, Palenque, and Chichen-Itza were formerly supposed to be two thousand years old or more, and it was thought that they had become deserted at some time long before the arrival of the Spaniards; but these views are no longer held by competent scholars. The disintegrating effects of the atmosphere in that climate are so rapid that it is not at all likely that such structures could remain for two thousand years. It was once supposed that such a long time must be necessary to enable the trees, by which these ruins are in some cases overgrown, to acquire the number of rings which they show; but this argument loses its weight when we consider that in Central America a tree will often make not one, but five or six, rings in a year. It seems likely that such a city as Uxmal may be contemporary with the city of Mexico, which we know was built in the fourteenth century. Such cities as Palenque and Copan may be three or four centuries older. There is reason for believing that Chichen-Itza and some others were still occupied and thriving when the Spaniards arrived upon the scene. There is no good reason for supposing that any of them were built by other people than the ancestors of the very interesting Mayas who now inhabit that region, and whose language at the present day is growing at the expense of Spanish.

In all these Indians of the middle status of barbarism, or, as we might otherwise term them, half-civilized Indians, the differences from the Indians of the lower status were many and strongly marked. Besides the growth of these cities, there was the systematic cultivation of maize and other vegetables on a very extensive scale by means of irrigation. There was an increased division of labor, showing itself in the establishment of fairs and market-places as centres of exchange; there was an increase in the size and organization of the armies; there was the development of a well-marked priesthood and of religious rites, among which human sacrifices were very conspicuous. The head war-chief had united to his functions as commander those of a priest, and had thus taken one step toward becoming a king of the ancient type. There was also a very considerable development of the arts. But it seems to me that these points will be best treated of when we come to consider what the intruding Spaniards found in Mexico and in Peru, since it is upon their testimony, interpreted in the light of our recent knowledge of ethnography, that we must rely for our conclusions as to what the highest grades of aboriginal culture in America really were.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

ALTHOUGH modern geologic inquiries leave no doubt that men were spread over the earth's surface before the beginning of the great glacial period, both in the eastern and in the western hemispheres, yet it seems probable that during the last twenty thousand or thirty thousand years there was no intercourse between these two halves of the globe until a comparatively recent time. Real knowledge of the western hemisphere by Europeans can hardly be said, in any proper sense of the word, to have begun before the time of Columbus. Yet there seems to be conclusive proof that our northeastern coasts were visited by Europeans five centuries earlier than Columbus.

If we were to attach a value to various legendary claims which have been put forth, we should have to speak of early voyages to America by Chinese, by Arabs, by Irishmen and Welshmen, perhaps even by ancient Phœnicians. But none of these claims merit serious consideration. It is unfortunate that the discussion of the subject is apt to excite much local prejudice, so that the historic evidence is apt to be confused by considerations of what is rather absurdly called patriotism. Why it should be more patriotic for a Welshman to suppose that Prince Madoc, in the twelfth century after Christ, sailed to America, than that he did not do so, is something difficult for anyone trained in historical criticism to appreciate. Nevertheless, when an Eisteddfod was held at Llangollen in 1858, and a prize was offered for the best essay on the discovery of America by Prince Madoc, six essays were presented, of which five assumed or maintained that the voyage of Prince Madoc was made. The sixth essay, by Mr. Thomas Stevens, was a work of really profound scholarship; it showed that there is no reason for supposing that any such voyage was ever made, and that the testimony upon which it has been supposed to have rested demands a quite different interpretation. The Eisteddfod refused to give Mr. Stevens the prize because its patriotic feelings, forsooth, were hurt; it urged that, since the prize was to be given for the best essay on the discovery of America by Prince Madoc, and since the essay maintained that there had been no such discovery, it excluded itself from the competition. Such logic was perhaps

unanswerable ; but the silliness of the decision has since then awakened the contempt of Welsh scholars, as of others, and the essay of Mr. Stevens, republished in 1893, will doubtless remain the final word upon this matter.

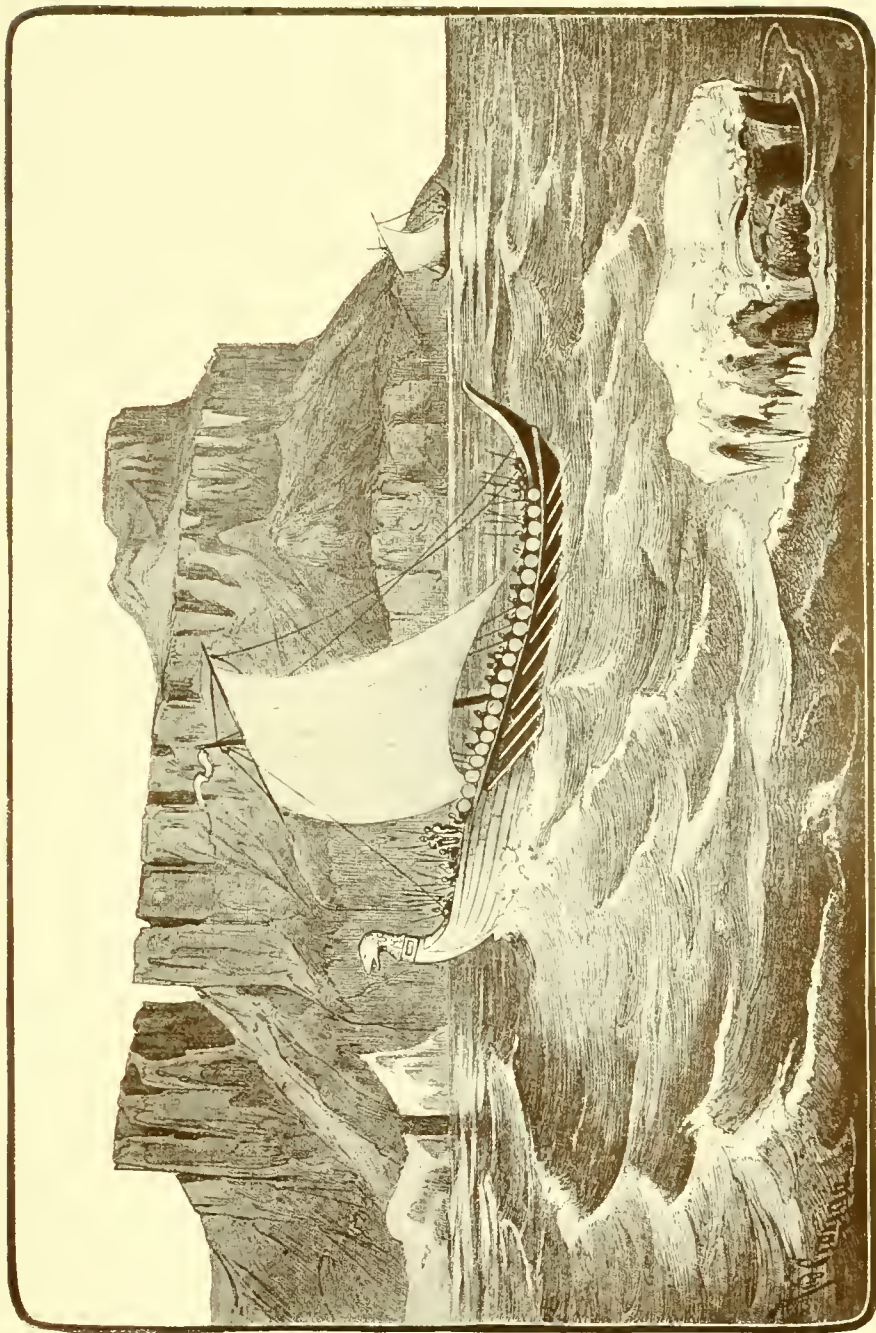
With regard to the Northmen, the case is very different. It may not be superfluous to remind the general reader that, in the ninth century after Christ, there was an extensive migration of Norwegians to Iceland. In the course of the century the numbers of the migration seem to have exceeded fifty thousand—a great number for those times. But it must be remembered that it was the time when Northmen were more than ever at home upon the sea, invading the coasts of England, Ireland, and France. The settlement of Iceland was part of the same great movement which planted a dynasty in Normandy and a Dane-law in England. One of the most interesting features of Iceland was the development of a literature in poetry and prose older than any other indigenous vernacular literature in modern Europe. Now, the story of Icelandic voyages to the western hemisphere is preserved in three manuscripts on parchment, of which we need mention only two, since one of them either copies another or is derived from the same sources. Of these two manuscripts, one is called the Flat Island Book, from the place where it was first found. The other is known as Hauk's Book (Fig. 28), from the eminent scholar, Hauk Erlendsson, by two of whose secretaries it was written. Both these manuscripts date from the fourteenth century, and are thus rather more than a century older than Columbus. That of Hauk is perhaps half a century earlier than the other, and has of late years been considered more trustworthy in its details ; but the Flat Island Book is also of great value, and must occasionally, I think, be preferred to the other. One of the most noticeable differences is that the Flat Island Book mentions at least five voyages, while in Hauk's Book the five are condensed into two. It appears to me that in this instance the truth is more likely to have been condensed than expanded. Unfortunately, neither of these manuscripts can be considered a first-hand authority for events which had already happened more than three centuries before their time ; nevertheless, their form and style are distinctly those of historical narrative, not of legends, and many of the facts which they mention are stated with such precision and correctness as to leave no doubt that they came originally from persons who must have seen the North American coast.

It should be borne in mind that the events about to be mentioned coincided in time with the introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia

cide, and took refuge, with a few boat-loads of followers, upon the southwestern coast of Greenland, which had been accidentally discovered some time before. The place was near the modern Julianeshaab. A settlement was made there, which was called Brattablid. Houses were built of stone, voyages were made to and from Iceland, a thriving trade was done in furs and rubber; the settlement remained until the beginning of the fifteenth century, and many of its stone houses may be seen there to-day. In this part of the story we are dealing with firm historic ground. The existence of Greenland was, throughout the Middle Ages in Europe, a well-known though not widely known fact. The true significance of the name Greenland is interesting. Many a modern school-boy who is first introduced to the name, and thinks of it as applied to a country entirely covered with glaciers, has doubtless wondered how such a name could have been applied to such a place. But our manuscript tells us that Eric the Red gave the name to the little spot where his settlement was made—a place which was grassy then, as it is to-day. It designated their little spot in contrast to all the white and icy land about it, and therefore was most appropriate; but in usage its meaning became extended so as to cover the whole country, just as the name “Africa,” which originally meant only what we now call Tunis, has come to extend over the whole continent, of which Tunis is but a tiny part. The Flat Island Book tells us that a certain Bjarni, the son of Herjulf, coming homeward from remote climes to keep Christmas with his father, found that the old man had gone to Brattablid. Nothing daunted by this, the bold sea-rover set out to find the place, doubtless accompanied by those who had seen it; but, being caught in a storm, he coursed along by lands to the southwest, which were clearly not the ice-bound coast for which he was looking. At length, retracing his course, he entered Davis Strait and found Brattablid. Some of the coasts which Bjarni had seen were well wooded, but he seems to have made little account of the circumstance. Half a dozen years later, when in Norway, meeting Leif, the son of Eric the Red, he mentioned these facts, and Leif’s curiosity was strongly excited. On his return to Iceland, Leif fitted out an expedition, and, heading southwesterly from Iceland, presently struck a coast which may have been that of Labrador or northern Newfoundland. This he called Helluland, from the abundance of flat stones. Proceeding still farther to the south, he found stretches of coast which he called Markland and Vinland; the first, from its thickly wooded character, like that of the uncultivated mark or march, which the old Teutonic village retained

partly as defence, partly for the sake of its timber; the second, because of the wild grapes which he found growing in great abundance in the month of September, A. D. 1000. We are told that Leif and his companions built some wooden booths or huts, and passed the autumn and winter in Vinland, returning the next spring to Brattahlid with a cargo of timber.

Our Flat Island manuscript mentions two voyages made in the following years, both of them by brothers of Leif Ericson. The first one, Thorvald, is said to have been killed in a skirmish with the natives; the other, Thorstein, is said to have perished at sea; but his widow, Gudrid, soon afterward married one of the wealthiest and most enterprising Icelanders of the day, whose name was Thorfinn Karlsefni. This Thorfinn, perhaps incited by his wife, conceived an idea more extensive than that of previous voyagers. It should be mentioned here that Hark's manuscript says nothing about any other voyages than those of Leif and Thorfinn; but why Dr. Storm and other recent critics should therefore suppose that the voyages of Leif's brothers are fanciful additions, I do not see. In the absence of any external evidence, it seems to me more likely that Hark should have omitted two unimportant voyages than that the Flat Island writer should have invented them. But since both manuscripts agree on the important voyages, the point is hardly worth discussing. Thorfinn, then, sailed from Brattahlid in the summer of 1007, in three long dragon-prowed ships (PLATE III.), such as his countrymen used a century earlier, when they sailed up the Seine and laid siege to Paris. They were partly decked at stern and bow; they were driven partly by oars, partly by a large shoulder-of-mutton sail carried on a foremast situated much like that in a modern sloop. The steering was done with a long, powerful oar moving upon a timber affixed to the right-hand quarter of the vessel, whence the name *starboard*, for *steerboard*, applied to this day to the right-hand side of all vessels. In the construction of these craft, the old Norwegians showed themselves as ingenious as they were daring. First of men to engage in oceanic navigation, properly so called, they no longer thought it necessary to hug the long coast-lines, but they crossed wide stretches of open sea, guided solely by observation of the heavens. They had not the compass and astrolabe, which were afterward so useful to Columbus; but the boats of the average Viking were swifter and more staunch than his, and such were doubtless the ships of Thorfinn. There were three of them, carrying 160 men. Gudrid went with her husband, and there were sixteen other women, with a few children; for it was Thorfinn's intention not to come away after one



A Norse Dragon-ship.
From Crotat, "Amerika."

season, but to leave a colony in Vinland, which might supply the men of Greenland with firewood and timber for building. To this end, he carried with him several head of cattle; for how could a European

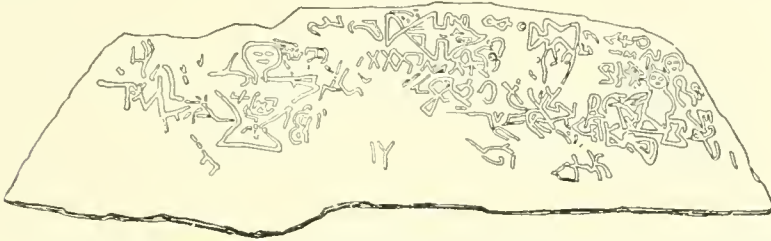


FIG. 29.—Algonquin inscription on Dighton Rock, Mass. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. x.)



FIG. 30.—Algonquin inscription, Millsborough, Pa. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iv.)

colony expect to subsist without milk and butter and a regular diet of meat?

Thorfinn's hopes, however, were destined to be disappointed. His

enterprise was baffled by circumstances which proved disastrous to many another European colony in later ages—insufficiency of food, and quarrels with the natives.

Where was this Vinland, where Thorfinn made this interesting attempt to found a colony? If you listen to local speculations, you will find there is scarcely a spot upon the New England coast to which it has not been assigned; and I dare say we may include the Nova Scotia coast likewise. Sixty years ago, Professor Rafn felt sure that it was somewhere about Narragansett Bay, and we were asked to believe that a stone windmill at Newport, built by Governor Benedict Arnold in 1679 after the model of one at his old home at Chesterton in Warwickshire, was built by the Northmen some centuries before. We were also asked to believe that a certain inscription (Figs. 29 and 30) made by Algonquin Indians on the surface of a rock at Dighton was the work of Northmen. These vagaries were exploded years ago, but their ghosts are not yet quite laid. Again, the late Prof. Horsford felt sure that the place where Leif and Thorfinn tarried a while was on the bank of Charles River, near the present site of the Cambridge Hospital; and the evidence alleged is certainly as good as that which is cited for many other specific localities. It seems to me, however, that such evidence as is really admissible must oblige us to rest satisfied with a much less definite result. We need not, however, go so far as the late Dr. Justin Winsor, whose reading of the manuscripts left him only with a vague impression of voyages made somewhere to no coast that is assignable in particular. Such wholesale negation seems to me as little justified as the extreme particularity of Prof. Rafn. In the first place, the coasts mentioned lie on the starboard side of a ship sailing southerly from Greenland. Proceeding along this coast, the navigators reach a point where they are struck with the great length of the winter day. It is not necessary to attempt, as some have done, to calculate from their vague statements the precise latitude which they reached. Common sense tells us that they would not have commented on the length of the winter day, had they not reached some latitude more southerly than those to which they were accustomed in Europe. Now, the Icelanders were accustomed to visit the coasts of France, but did not ordinarily go farther. The latitude of Spain, therefore, roughly speaking, would satisfy the conditions, and that is the same as the latitude of Massachusetts. The description of the winter, ordinarily mild, with occasional snaps of extreme cold, agrees well with the New England coast. The voyagers mention wolves, foxes, bears, halibut, codfish, and cider-ducks.

In other words, while they mention several things which agree with the New England coast, though fewer than we could wish, they mention nothing which disagrees with it. Some part of the northeastern coast of North America is unquestionably intended by Vinland, but there are two further indications of decisive importance. The voyagers mention a grain which grows with little or no cultivation, and from their description it is evident that maize is what they have in mind. We have in these manuscripts the first mention of Indian corn to be found in any literature, but the description of the natives of Vinland is more than all else decisive. They are called "Skraellings," a name which Icelandic writers sometimes apply to Eskimos. It is a word which simply denotes inferiority, and is practically equivalent to the Greek use of the word "barbarian." The description of the Skraellings of Vinland shows that they were not Eskimos; they were tall, well built, with high cheek-bones, and long, coarse black hair. They came in swarms of canoes; they fought with stone tomahawks and with bows and stone-pointed arrows; and they were unfamiliar with cattle, insomuch that the chance bellowing of a bull scattered them in headlong flight. They lived in a fur-bearing country, and were eager to exchange valuable furs for little bits of red cloth to tie in their hair. These are details which no European imagination in the Middle Ages could have invented; for before the great voyages of the fifteenth century, Europeans knew nothing whatever of men in such a low state of culture.

Yet another striking fact completes the demonstration. Thorfinn had trouble with these natives, and engaged in several fights with them, one of which is quite minutely described. The Skraellings used a peculiar weapon made by encasing a large stone in a sheep's paunch and fastening it loosely to the end of a pole. It was usually painted in bright red and blue colors, to resemble a diabolical face. The pole was carried by three or four stout warriors, and the stone was slung from it into the ranks of the enemy. Now this weapon, known as the Demon's Head, was a characteristic weapon of the Algonquin Indians; and the mention of it in the Icelandic manuscripts seems positive proof that their statements rested upon the testimony of men who had fought with Algonquin Indians in Vinland. In the light of all these circumstances, it seems to me probable that the place where Leif and Thorfinn landed in Vinland must have been somewhere between Cape Breton and Point Judith. It is not impossible that good reasons might be assigned for arriving at a more specific conclusion, but the inquiry is out of place in a general history like the present.

Thorfinn's people ate up all their provisions, including their cattle, and the Indians made so much trouble for them that at the end of three years they got into their ships and went home. During their stay, we are told, a son was born to Thorfinn and Gudrid; and from this son, Snorro, have descended many eminent people of Norway, including the celebrated sculptor, Thorvaldsen. The Flat Island Book mentions yet another voyage to Vinland, and occasional allusions to it are found in Icelandic literature as far down as the thirteenth century. Outside of the Scandinavian world, it is mentioned by Adam of Bremen, whose book on the conversion of the northern nations was written only about seventy years after the voyage of Thorfinn. The pope constituted Greenland a bishopric *in partibus infidelium*, and the ruins of the rude cathedral may still be seen near Julianeshaab. To this bishopric, Vinland was appended; so that the style of its functionary was Bishop of Greenland and Vinland. Seventeen bishops were successively appointed to that remote situation; but we never hear of any of them going further than Greenland, except that early in the twelfth century a certain Bishop Eric is said to have gone in search of Vinland, and perished on the way.

Such is the story told by the two Icelandic manuscripts above mentioned, and confirmed here and there by references in Norse literature. No mention is made of any permanent colony in Vinland, and it may safely be said that no relic of the Northmen has yet been proved to exist on the continent south of Davis Strait. The voyages of Leif and Thorfinn seem to have led only to occasional visits to the American coast for timber; they did not spread abroad in Europe the knowledge of a new world beyond the sea. In all the vast mass of mediæval literature, outside of Scandinavia, scarcely more than two or three allusions to Vinland can be found. The achievements of the Icelanders in this direction were of extreme interest and highly to their credit as explorers; but they cannot be said to constitute, in any true sense of the word, a discovery of America. For all practical purposes, the eastern and western hemispheres remained as ignorant of each other after the tenth century as before it—always excepting the little colony in Greenland, which flourished until the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it came suddenly to an end, partly owing to unwise legislation, and partly to attacks from the Eskimos.

It is to the east, not to the north, that we must look for the causes that led to the discovery of America. Primarily that discovery was

due to the disturbance of eastern routes of trade by the Turks, so that it is worth while for us to observe what those routes were and what was their importance. The northerly route lay through the Black and Caspian Seas to the Sea of Aral, thence either up the valley of the Oxus and along the foot of the Kuen Lun Mountains, or else up the Jaxartes and through the Tian Shan range by the famous Poplar Pass. These roads led into China at its northwestern corner. The people living in that neighborhood were known from very early times as *Khitai*, whence came the name "*Cathay*," by which China was known to those Europeans who approached it from the north. This northerly route was associated with the great wealth and importance of the city which the ancients knew as *Byzantium*, but, since the fourth century after Christ, has borne the name *Constantinople*.

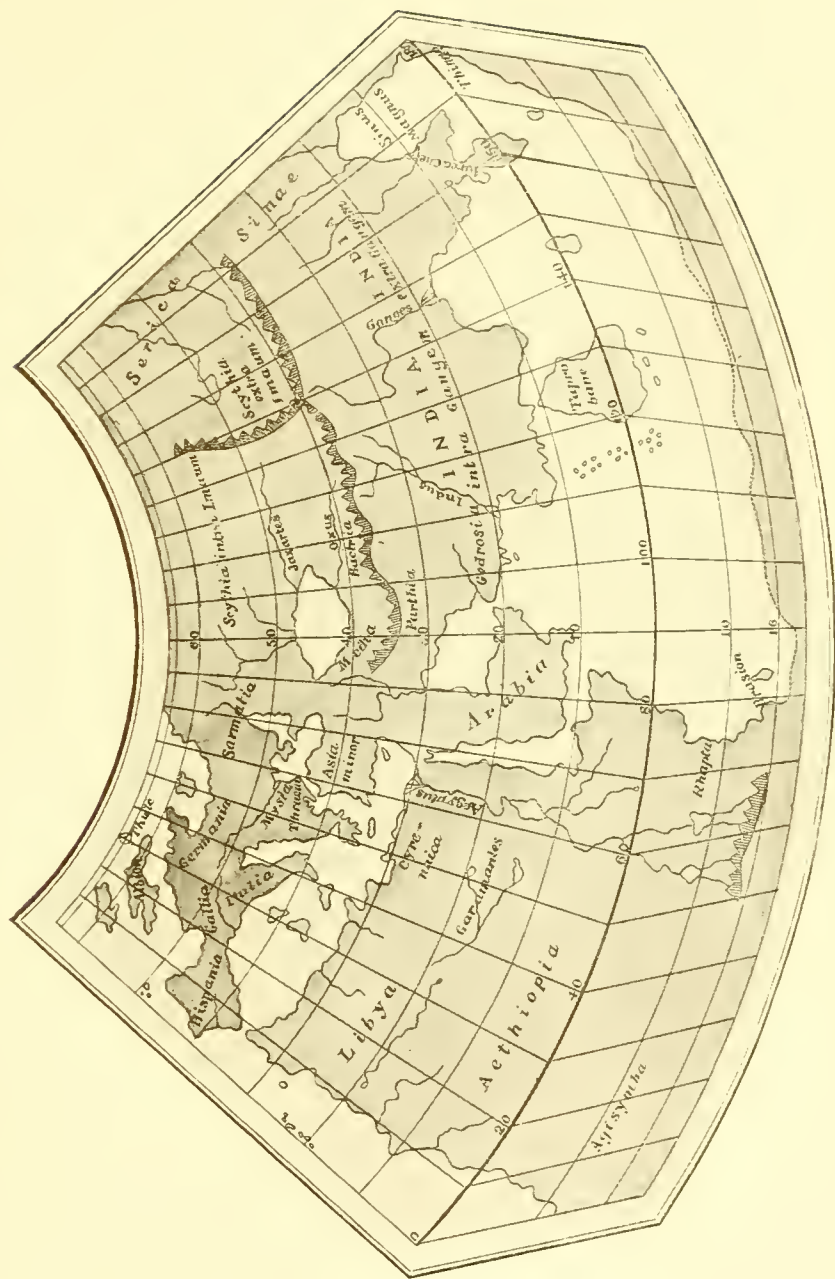
The southerly route to the east lay through Egypt and the Red Sea, thence across the Indian Ocean to the shores of Hindostan, the Molucca Islands, Malaysia, and the coast of China, which was known by its present name to the traders who visited it from the south. Upon the commerce of this route throve the great cities of the Pharaohs, of Alexandria, and, in later days, of Cairo. The middle route was not the least interesting of the three. Beginning with such ports as Tyre and Sidon on the coast of Syria, it followed through such cities as Damascus, and, in after days, Balbec and Palmyra, to the Euphrates; thence through the Persian Gulf into the Indian Ocean. At various ages of the world, such cities as Nineveh, Babylon, and Bagdad have been largely supported by the trade of this route. It is possibly the oldest of the three, for its commerce seems to have supported the great city of Nippur not less than nine thousand years ago.

The articles brought from Asia to Europe were pepper and spices, various medicinal drugs, rugs and shawls the product of Indian looms, fine pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, ivory and silk. The northern route was commonly known as the great silk route, and by it materials were brought for the dress of Roman ladies at a time when Romans knew so little about this beautiful fabric as to suppose that it grew on trees, like flax. The articles carried from Europe to Asia were for the most part wools and woollen cloths, Mediterranean wines, various iron tools, glass, and amber, which was in great request as a safeguard against witchcraft. Amber beads from the Baltic have been found in Egyptian tombs of the twenty-ninth century before Christ. The importance of these trade-routes and the educating effect of this intercourse with remote countries upon the European mind were so

great that it would require a volume to do justice to the subject. Nevertheless, the geographical knowledge of Europeans was not increased to such an extent as one might suppose. The chief reason for this was that the European merchant seldom traversed the whole of any of these long routes; but, at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, his goods would be exchanged and pass into the hands of other travelers, and such an exchange might take place several times. Nevertheless, it is known that Greek traders from Byzantium and Sinope would not infrequently press so far into Asia as to meet Chinese traders in the passes of the Tian Shan. Geographic knowledge is a plant of slow growth. One must not only visit the country, but measure it with elaborate instruments, before one can draw good maps of it. The crudeness of European knowledge of Asia is well illustrated by Claudius Ptolemy (PLATE IV.), the greatest of ancient geographers, writing in the second century after Christ. He knows nothing of the triangular shape of Hindostan, and cuts off a thousand miles from its north and south length, while he makes the island of Ceylon so large as to cover much of the space which the peninsula occupies. It is worthy of note that, in the year 1492, Martin Behaim, one of the most learned geographers of Europe, knew no more about the matter than Ptolemy. On his globe, made in that year, which may still be seen in the town hall of Nuremberg, India is depicted precisely according to Ptolemy's description.

The first great disturbance of the eastern routes of trade was caused by the incursions of the Turks of the house of Seljuk, in the tenth century of our era. Overrunning Asia Minor and Syria, these barbarians were able to intercept traffic on both the northern and middle routes. One of the military objects of the Crusades was to recover the advantages thus partially lost or seriously threatened. But the failure of the third crusade and overthrow of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Saladin in the twelfth century effectually and finally closed the middle route for Europeans. Then came one of the greatest crimes recorded in human history—the capture of Constantinople by French and Venetians in 1204. This atrocity, which terribly weakened the eastern empire and left it a helpless prey for the Ottoman Turk, grew out of the intense commercial jealousy between Venice and Genoa. For some generations, Venice had monopolized the route through Egypt, while Genoa had monopolized that through the Black Sea; and it was in order to oust her rival from this advantage that Venice persuaded an army of French Crusaders to help her take possession of Constantinople. In spite of this calamity, the general effect of the Crusades in retarding the advance

PLATE IV.



Ptolemy's Map of the World.

From Kretzschmar, "Die Entdeckung Amerikas," 1802.

of the Turks was excellent. By the thirteenth century, however, the crusading spirit was dying out, while it was turned to base uses. The crime of 1204 was speedily followed by the wicked crushing of Albigensian civilization in the south of France. While Christendom was thus torn with unholy dissensions, the Turks renewed their advance, this time led by the house of Othman. By the middle of the fourteenth century, they had effectually closed the northern route and struck a deadly blow at the prosperity of Genoa. It is not meant to be understood that all commerce was stopped, but that it was encumbered with duties, often prohibitory, while the Levant swarmed with Turkish corsairs, who made all navigation precarious and greatly increased its cost.

These evils were all the more keenly felt because the volume of Asiatic trade with Europe had gone on rapidly increasing from the eleventh century to the fourteenth. One effect of this had been to increase the peacefulness of Europe by increasing the wealth of the large towns. Nothing can be clearer than that the flourishing trade of cities like Venice, Genoa, Florence, Augsburg, Bremen, Lubec, Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Norwich, and London, tended in many ways to counteract the military spirit and to knit society more closely together. With this increasing material prosperity, on the other hand, the demand for Asiatic products was steadily increased. One circumstance which contributed to expand the intercourse between Europe and Asia demands especial mention. We are accustomed to consider the enormous conquests of Jinglyhis Khan and his successors as merely devastation and pillage; but there is a point of view from which they may be said to have exerted a civilizing influence upon Europe. At no time in history has so large a portion of Asia been subjected to a single and firm rule as in the thirteenth century. Kublai Khan, the grandson of Jinglyhis, ruled over more territory, perhaps, than any other man who ever lived. His domains extended from the Yellow Sea on the east to the Polish frontier and the river Euphrates on the west; so that it was said one might consult Chinese physicians at Bagdad, while Italian merchants opened branch houses at Canton. It was a period when all the great eastern routes were more open and more traveled than ever before or ever since, down to the age in which we live. It was under these circumstances that Marco Polo spent a quarter of a century in the Chinese service, and returned home to publish in the year 1299 his book called "*The Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*," which soon became a favorite with European readers everywhere.

One result of European visits to the far east was the discovery that

China was terminated by an ocean with seaports, from which Chinese vessels carried on a brisk traffic with islands beyond. Of one group of these islands, Marco Polo has much to say. He calls it "Cipango," meaning thereby Japan; and in the discovery of America, we shall presently see that it plays a great part. The person who first brought to Europe the news of the ocean beyond China seems to have been William de Rubruquis, a Flemish monk, who was sent out by St. Louis to preach Christianity to the heathen. He returned to Europe in 1260, and it is highly interesting to see this intelligence immediately followed by speculations as to whether it would be possible to reach China by sailing west. Such speculations occur in the "*Opus Majus*" of Roger Bacon, written in 1267. This is the place for an explanation which to some readers may not be entirely superfluous. The story of the discovery of America is often told as if the chief opposition to the views of Columbus was based upon the assumed flatness of the earth; and I fancy that some readers suppose that in the time of Columbus the doctrine of the earth's spherical form was a novel heresy. We are sometimes told that the church stoutly opposed this doctrine as contrary to Scripture, and the discovery of America is represented as a triumph of Columbus over the church. So far is this from being correct that, as we shall see, all of Columbus' efficient supporters were clergymen; and but for the cordial and hearty co-operation of the church, he could never have crossed the Atlantic. At present, we may content ourselves with observing that the spherical form of the earth was first demonstrated by Aristotle in the fourth century before Christ. It was accepted by nearly all the Greek and Roman writers who have any occasion to refer to the subject. It was also held by most of the church fathers, including the greatest of them, St. Augustine; and during the Middle Ages, when the authority of Aristotle was so great with the church, most clergymen believed that the earth was a sphere. It is so represented in the great poem of Dante. It is quite true that other views were proposed. In the seventh century after Christ, which was wellnigh the darkest of the dark ages, a certain Egyptian monk, who called himself "Cosmas Indicopleustes," wrote a book in which he maintained that the earth was a flat plain, while he denounced the doctrine of Aristotle as contrary to Scripture. The views of this monk were accepted by a good many of the clergy and doubtless by most of the uneducated people, even down to the time of Columbus; and sometimes we find some idiot writing an article to-day to prove the truth of such views. But, for learned men in the Middle Ages, the spherical form of the earth was an accepted

fact. It was therefore natural that Roger Bacon, on hearing of a sea west of China, should raise the question whether it would be possible to sail over it from Western Europe. Such a question follows so directly from the knowledge of the earth's spherical form that it was raised in ancient times. And it is necessary for us to understand it if we would understand the discovery of America. The ancients knew but one continental mass, which was quite commonly supposed to be surrounded by ocean. The Spanish peninsula lay at one end of this continental mass, and China lay at the other; obviously, then, the length of the ocean voyage from Spain to China would depend upon the length of the continent from China to Spain; the more land, of course the less water. Eratosthenes, in the second century before Christ, maintained that the greater part of the earth's circumference was taken up by water, and therefore the voyage would be longer than ships could be equipped and provisioned for making; on the other hand, Seneca, in the first century of our era, believed that the greater part of the circumference was land, and that the ocean passage was proportionately short, and in a famous passage in his "Tragedy of Medea" he predicts the discovery of land to the west of the Atlantic.

But if this practical question follows so naturally upon the knowledge of the earth's spherical form, why do we hear no more of the subject for twelve centuries after Seneca? The explanation is curious. The great geographer Ptolemy held that all oceans are enclosed lakes; and while he conceived the Atlantic as extending nearly to China, he nevertheless fancied that access to the Chinese coast was prevented by extensive swamps abounding in reedy marshes and deadly quagmires. This region of quaking bog he supposed to cover territory enough for an empire or two; and so long as people took Ptolemy's word for gospel, they were not likely to spend much time in thinking about an oceanic approach to China. It is true that many an Arab sailor lived and died who could have corrected this singular misconception, but nobody ever did so. Knowledge in those days was transmitted but slowly. The question, therefore, had to wait for Rubruquis and Friar Bacon. This great scholar came to the conclusion that the Atlantic was not so wide as to render a voyage across it to China impracticable.

In the thirteenth century, however, no one was likely to put such speculations to a practical test. At a time when the land-routes were more easily traversed than ever before, nobody was likely to set forth upon an untried ocean on the strength of a theory. Such a bold undertaking required the spur of necessity. It was the commercial distress

consequent upon the supremacy of the Turks at the eastern end of the Mediterranean that led people earnestly to ask if some outside route to Asia could not be found. Naturally, the first attempt was to see if Africa could be circumnavigated; that was a feat which had not yet been accomplished. Herodotus, indeed, tells a pretty story of the circumnavigation of Africa by Phœnician sailors in the seventh century before Christ, but it will not bear a critical examination. Even supposing, however, that such a voyage was ever made, all memory of it had been completely lost long before the times of which we are speaking.



FIG. 31.—Pomponius Mela's map of the World. (From Kretzschmer's "Die Entdeckung Amerikas," Berlin, 1892.)

With regard to the continent of Africa, two very different views were held: one of which was supported by the great authority of Ptolemy, the other by that of Pomponius Mela. Ptolemy believed that the continent of Africa extended to the South Pole, besides reaching so far eastward as completely to enclose the Indian Ocean. Ports on the western coasts of islands like Java and the Moluccas, Ptolemy regarded as ports of a great eastern continent connecting Africa with Asia. Upon this view, it would of course be impossible for Europeans to reach Asia by any southern oceanic route.

Pomponius Mela flourished in the time of the Emperor Nero. He was the author of a little book on geography which enjoyed a high reputation in the Middle Ages, especially among the monks of the Spanish

peninsula, of which Mela himself was a native. According to Mela, the African continent (Fig. 31) nowhere extends so far south as the equator, but terminates about five degrees to the north of it. His views, however, were not in all respects more encouraging to mariners than those of Ptolemy. It was Mela who popularized the division of our globe into five zones. He was a man of symmetrical mind, who liked to see things nicely balanced. He knew there was a frigid zone to the north, and he correctly inferred the existence of another at the south. In one other respect, his inference was not so fortunate. If the ocean freezes near the pole, why shouldn't it boil at the equator? According to Mela, the torrid zone was a glowing gulf which no mariner could cross. The north temperate zone, according to this ingenious writer, was balanced by a temperate zone at the south, which he called "Opposite World." There was a good deal of discussion among churchmen as to the existence of this Opposite World, and some thought that it would hardly do to admit its existence, since its human inhabitants, if there were any, must be cut off by that flaming gulf from the knowledge of the gospel. Unless the reader understands these conflicting opinions of Ptolemy and Mela, he cannot hope to understand how America came to be discovered. Among the great men who put them to the test, the first was Prince Henry of Portugal, who was born in 1394 and came to be known as Henry the Navigator (Fig. 32); for, although he made no voyages himself, he founded the most illustrious school of mariners that ever existed. It is interesting to remember that Prince Henry was half an Englishman, being own cousin to King Henry V. He seems to have been the first man to entertain the idea of planting a new Europe in the outlying heathen parts of the earth. In an expedition into Morocco in 1415, Henry's curiosity was excited by travelers' tales of gold on the Guinea coast. Dreams of wealth conspired with genuine scientific thirst for knowledge to urge him forward in the work of exploration, and to this he consecrated his life. Before his death in 1460, his captains had ventured a thousand miles into the Atlantic and begun the colonization of the Azores, while the Madeira and Cape Verde Islands also were settled by Portuguese, and their ships had skirted the African coast as far as Sierra Leone.

This glorious enterprise had its dark and shameful side. In order to obtain resources for such costly work, Henry obtained from Pope Eugenius IV. a grant to the kingdom of Portugal of all such heathen coasts as his mariners might discover. The pope made this grant in accordance with the theory current in the later Middle Ages, that all

the surface of our planet not already in possession of some Christian sovereign was the property of the pope, as God's viceroy, to bestow upon whomsoever he would. In the exercise of the authority thus granted to Portugal, negroes by the hundred were kidnapped from the African coast and carried to Portugal, to be sold usually as house-servants or workers in the fields. Such were the beginnings about 1440 of that frightful institution, slavery, in its modern commercial form.

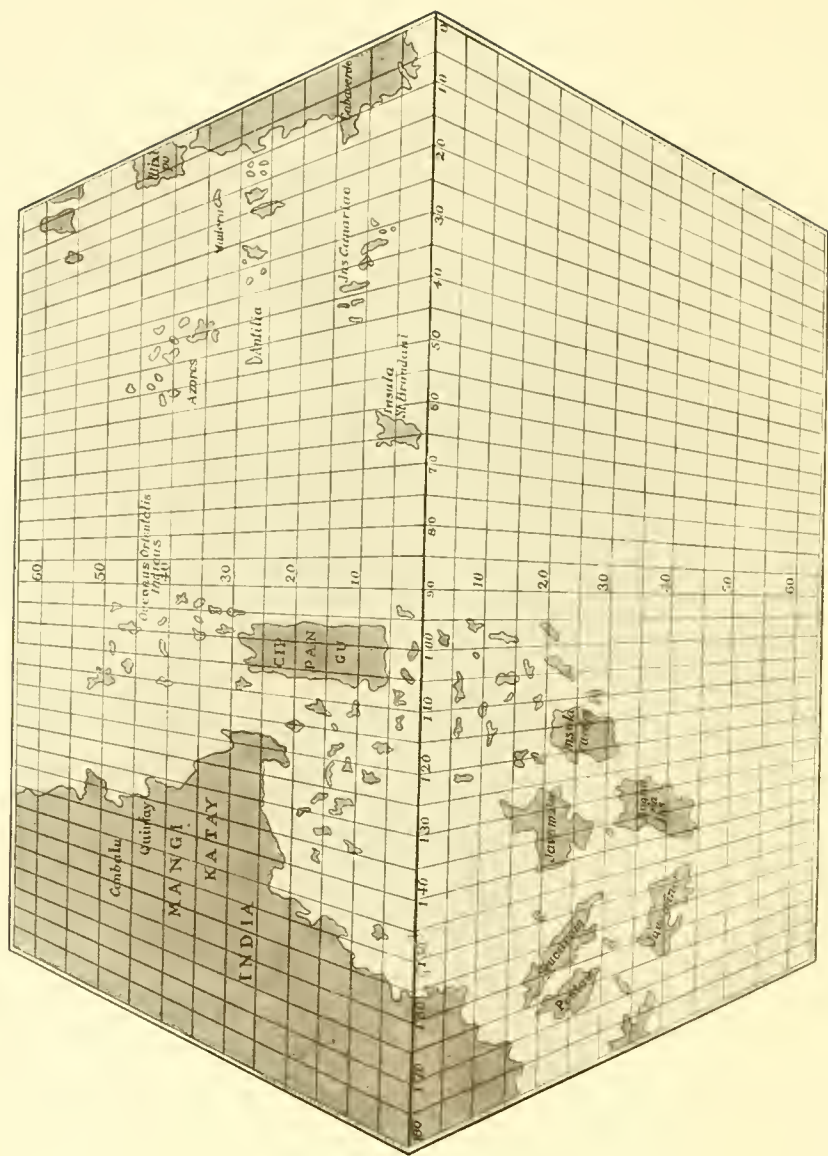


FIG. 32. -Henry the Navigator. (From Major's "Prince Henry the Navigator.")

It is curious that, just as the white slavery inherited from antiquity had everywhere passed into the milder form of serfdom, this new form of the monster of iniquity should have begun to rear its head. But, as we shall hereafter see, the evil would not have been serious but for the discovery of America suddenly opening an immense field for the employment of cheap unskilled labor.

When the Portuguese captains reached Sierra Leone, where the African coast begins trending eastward, the time was at hand when the views of Ptolemy and Mela were to be tested. In 1471, a voyage was

PLATE V.



Toscanelli's Map of the Atlantic Ocean.

From Kretzschmer, "Die Entdeckung Amerikas."

History of All Nations, Vol. XVI., page 79.

made, the significance of which seems hitherto to have escaped attention. In that year two captains, Santarem and Escobar, passed Sierra Leone and sailed eastward until the coast took a sudden turn to the south. So persistent were these mariners that, quite overcoming their dread of the boiling ocean, they actually crossed the equator and kept on five degrees further without getting scalded, until either their food or their patience gave way as they reached the mouth of the Congo. This news was brought back to Lisbon in the spring of 1472. It was a complete refutation of Meka's theory, but left it possible that Ptolemy might be correct. At all events, even if there were an end to that disappointing coast, it was clear that the voyage to Asia must be a very long one, much longer than had been anticipated. The question therefore necessarily arose, Have we been pursuing the right route, or is there a better one? This question was asked within the next two years by the King of Portugal. The person to whom it was addressed was one of the greatest astronomers of that time, Paolo Toscanelli of Florence, a man then in his seventy-eighth year. The question was as follows: "Is there any shorter route to the land of spices than we are trying to find by way of Guinea?" Toscanelli's reply was prompt and decisive: "There is a shorter route; you must sail directly westward across the Atlantic, and, in order to bring the matter within the comprehension of any intelligent mariner, I enclose a map (PLATE V.), showing the general nature of the route and the position of Cipango, the island described by Marco Polo, which is the destination at which you should first aim."

It happened that about this time there was living upon the island of Porto Santo, one of the Madeira group, a young navigator named Christopher Columbus. Little is known about his early life, except that he was a native of Genoa, of humble origin. His father was a wool-comber. There is a tradition that Christopher attended the University of Pavia, but the basis for it we do not know. Somewhere he picked up a good education, inasmuch that he could write Latin and understood such branches of mathematics as bear upon navigation, besides being widely read in matters relating to geography. In his early years, he seems to have made voyages to the Levant, and may have crossed swords with Turks. He has been accused of having now and then taken his turn at piracy, but we are in a position to disprove this calumny. It arises from confounding him with a famous corsair named Colombo, who lived at about the same time, but whose career is sufficiently well known to show that he was in no way implicated with

the great discoverer. Somewhere about 1470, Christopher Columbus (Fig. 33) with his brother Bartholomew, arrived in Lisbon, where they seem to have supported themselves by making charts. Christopher soon married a lady above him in social position, the daughter of an Italian mariner named Bartholomew Perestrelo, who at the time of his death was governor of the island of Porto Santo. This marriage led Columbus to live for more than a year upon that island. There was born his eldest

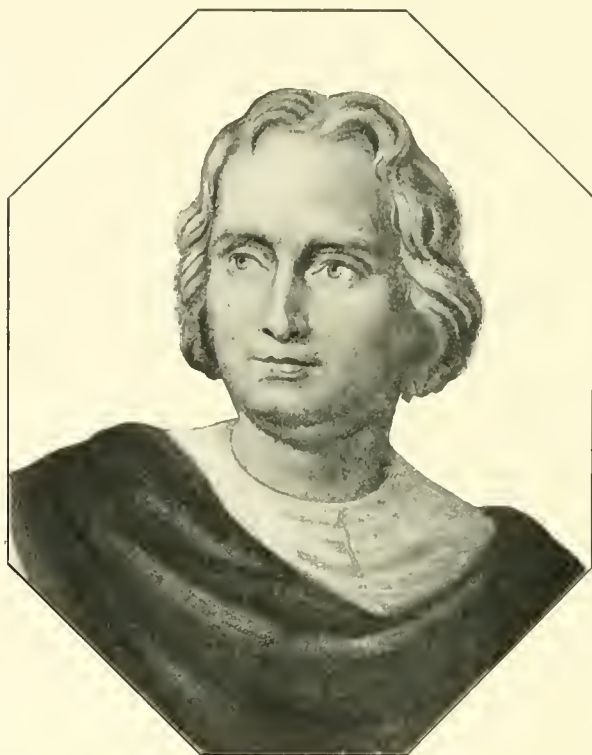


FIG. 33.—Christopher Columbus. (From a rare unlettered proof. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

son, Diego; and many years afterward Diego Columbus told Las Casas that it was during his father's residence upon that little island that he conceived the idea of sailing westward in search of Asia. Now, that was about 1473. Notice well the sequence of dates. Santarem and Escobar bring home their discouraging news in April, 1472; the next year Christopher Columbus appears to have formed a scheme for trying another route. He was dwelling in the very track of Portuguese discovery. We have his own word for it that he himself accompanied at

least one of the Portuguese expeditions; for aught we know, he may have been in that which returned in 1472. However this may be, when we come to the summer of 1474 we find him writing to Toscanelli and asking the same question which had lately been asked by the King of Portugal. Toscanelli, in his reply, indicates his pleasure at the interest which a practical mariner shows in the question, and he says in substance: "I cannot do better than enclose to you a copy of the letter and map which I lately sent to the King of Portugal."



FIG. 34.—Behaim's globe. (From Kretzschmer's "Die Entdeckung Amerikas," Berlin, 1892.)

This correspondence took place just eighteen years before Columbus started on the ever memorable voyage which brought the earth's two hemispheres together. During all that time Columbus kept Toscanelli's map; he had it with him on his voyage, and shaped his course in accordance with its indications. Las Casas tells us that when he was writing the history of the Indies he had this map, along with other

documents of Columbus, in his possession. It is now supposed to be lost; but things in Spain have been so carelessly kept that one cannot be sure that what is supposed to be lost may not at any time turn up. With the aid of Martin Behaim's globe (Fig. 34) and Toscanelli's letter it is not difficult to reconstruct the principal features of the map; and as regards the position of Cipango upon it, and the distance required to be traversed in order to reach it, we have precise information. Toscanelli's opinion was based upon a blunder so gigantic as to show more vividly than anything else the vagueness of European knowledge of Asia at that time. I suppose the blunder must have started in his misunderstanding some of Marco Polo's Chinese measures of distance. At all events, Toscanelli extends Asia so far east as to bring Cipango into the Gulf of Mexico, stretching from about the site of New Orleans down to that of the city of Guatemala. Columbus, therefore, would not need to sail more than four thousand miles in order to reach Japan. Upon this calculation Columbus himself improved. Toscanelli calculated the equatorial circumference of our globe as rather more than 25,000 miles; Columbus followed Ptolemy's estimate of 21,600 for that circumference; when, therefore, he came to put Toscanelli's elongated Asia upon his own smaller globe, it reached about a thousand miles farther east, thus bringing Japan very near to the actual longitude of Hayti. Thus did Columbus arrive at the conclusion that a westward voyage not exceeding 3000 miles from the Canary Islands would bring him into the Asiatic world; and evidently that was a shorter route than any that could be found by sailing round Africa, even should that continent prove circumnavigable. It is obvious that this colossal blunder was of the greatest service to Columbus. If he had calculated that distance at 10,000 or 12,000 miles, there would have been no point in his scheme. When he laid it before the Portuguese court and requested ships and men for the voyage, the great obstacle which he had to encounter was not men's disbelief in the earth's sphericity, but the objection raised by certain shrewd Lisbon geographers that he had greatly overestimated the length of Asia. Here it was not ignorant prejudice against which he was contending, but a geographical opinion which we now know to have been more correct than his own.

To meet the objections urged against him, Columbus brought forward all the arguments he could think of, to-day quoting verses from Scripture, to-morrow remarking upon the arrival of strange driftwood upon European coasts, and the next day repeating tales of corpses of strange race borne from some westward land. The question has sometimes been

asked if he could ever have heard of Vinland and the voyages of the Northmen thither. Books have been written to prove that Columbus was led to his enterprise by reading "Adam of Bremen," or perhaps by a brief visit to Iceland, which he appears to have made in 1477, about four years after his scheme was matured in his mind. How easy it is to fancy that Columbus might have looked into "Adam of Bremen," and then have gone to Iceland for the express purpose of consulting, with the aid of native scholars, the Flat Island Book and the manuscript of Hauk Erlendsson. "Ah, yes," we seem to hear him saying, "these fellows discovered America five centuries ago. I have learned all about it; but I will keep my knowledge to myself, and thus acquire the credit of having discovered America!" To look at things this way, however, is to read them in the light of our present knowledge, which Columbus did not possess. It was not his purpose to discover a new continent, and indeed he went to his grave without ever suspecting that he had done so. His purpose was to prove to unwilling antagonists that a westward voyage of 3000 miles would bring him to Japan. Now, if he had been able to say that, five hundred years before his time, certain Icelandic mariners had sailed westward and found a continental mass of land which extended southward to the forty-first or forty-second parallel, could he have desired a more crushing argument with which to convince his antagonists? Why, such an argument would, at any time during those eighteen years, have been almost enough of itself to have given him the men and ships for which he was pleading. To my mind, therefore, his silence about Vinland is positive proof that he knew nothing about it. I may add that not only does Columbus never mention Vinland, but none of his actions ever betray a consciousness that anything is to be gained by turning his prow in that direction.

How the negotiation with the Portuguese court might have ended had it been confined to a settlement of the geographical question purely, we cannot tell. In 1474 Portugal was in no condition for maritime enterprises. Even those on the African coast were discontinued until 1481. This was because all the resources of the kingdom were needed for the war in which she was engaged with Castile. It was in 1481, when the African voyages were being renewed, that Columbus (Fig. 35) again pressed his suit. The king thought his terms very high, and hence some modern biographers have taken their cue, upbraiding Columbus as a mean-spirited creature, who ought to have been willing to work from a disinterested love of science, and not to charge a high price for his services. Las Casas, the noble friend of Columbus, takes a differ-

ent view, and commends him unstintedly for the lofty attitude which he always assumed. The reason for this difference of view is that Las Casas understood his friend, while the modern biographers referred to do not understand him. Like some other great men, Columbus was more or less of a religious enthusiast. His leading object in life was to get up a new crusade and drive out of Europe the Turks, whom he hated both as enemies of Christianity and as destroyers of the commerce

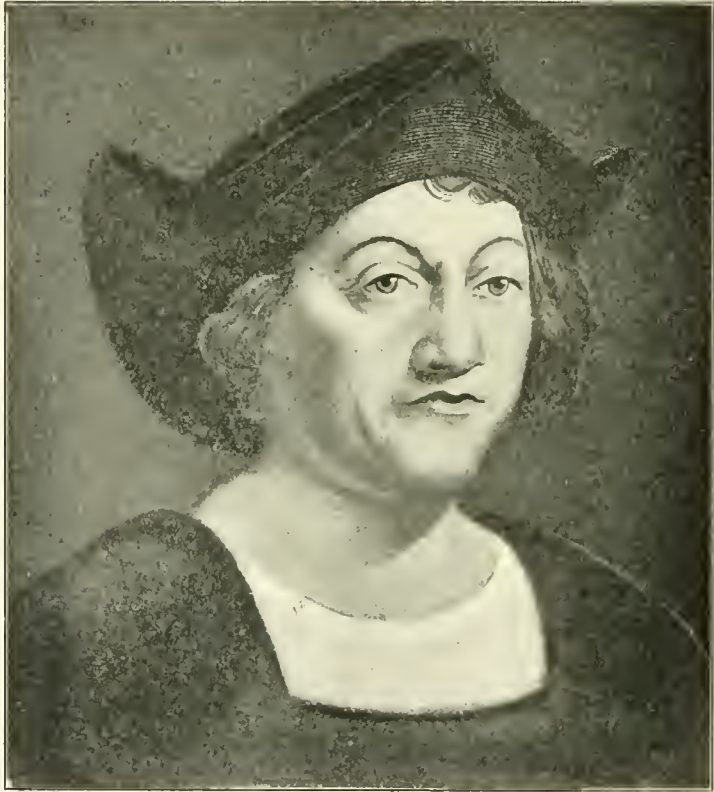


FIG. 35.— Christopher Columbus. (After an unlettered proof by Merelli. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

of his native Genoa. His object in finding a short route to the Indies was to secure for himself and the Christian prince who might be his patron a goodly slice of the wealth of the Indies; enough, at all events, to set on foot a crusade which should eclipse all that went before it. Should all else fail, he hoped himself to acquire resources fit for equipping an army. While holding these views, his natural demeanor was lofty, though pleasant. It seemed to come natural to him to address crowned

heads as if he were their equal. In the present instance, he demanded of the Portuguese king that he should be made governor or viceroy of such heathen coasts as he might visit, and that he should have a royalty of ten or twelve per cent. on all the profits of the enterprise. This was no more than Prince Henry had more than once granted to fortunate discoverers; but, coming from this low-born Italian, the proposal seemed extravagant.



FIG. 36.—Isabella the Catholic. (Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella.")

Would it not be better to entrust the enterprise to some Portuguese captain, and thus protect home labor? So, after obtaining Columbus' plans and sailing-directions, the king basely sent out a couple of ships to the Cape Verde Islands, with secret instructions thence to sail westward in search of land. But after a few days the courage of these bold mariners oozed away; and upon their retreat to Lisbon the trick came out, and Columbus, in great indignation, left the country and

carried his proposals to the Spanish monarchs. There is a tradition, perhaps not very well supported, that at some time he made proposals both to Genoa and to Venice; if he did so, it might possibly have been in 1485. In the following year we find him in Spain. It was not a favorable time for maritime enterprises. Spain was just entering upon the long war which terminated in the expulsion of the Moors from Granada; and while that was going on it was useless for Columbus to hope to get much attention at court. On at least two occasions he tried to obtain support from wealthy noblemen; but Queen Isabella (Fig. 36) would not grant the requisite licenses, because she preferred that the profits of any such enterprise, if ever undertaken, should come into the royal treasury. At one time, Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to England; but Henry VII., who was always very cautious when it came to putting out money, dallied with the proposal until it was too late. Meanwhile, in the year 1487, the great question as to Africa was decided. Bartholomew Dias passed the Cape of Good Hope and entered the Indian Ocean, but did not attempt to cross it. Bartholomew Columbus was in the ship which made this memorable voyage, and the news of it stimulated Christopher to renewed exertions. He was more than ever convinced that his proposed route would be much more direct. At length, after the surrender of Granada in January, 1492, Columbus obtained a favorable hearing from the sovereigns. During a visit to the monastery of La Rabida he aroused the interest of several learned men; among others, Juan Perez, who had once been the queen's confessor. Among his other supporters were Alonzo Quintanilla, Raphael Sanchez, and Luis de Santangel. The principal difficulty, just as in Portugal, was Columbus' high price. The queen was unwilling to grant such terms; the negotiations were broken off, and Columbus had already started for France, when, on the interposition of Santangel at the eleventh hour, the queen changed her mind, and a courier was sent after Columbus to call him back.

The summer of 1492 was occupied in preparations. So great was the unwillingness of seafarers to venture upon such a voyage that it was necessary to offer jail-birds their freedom on condition of sailing. Three ships were fitted out: the *Santa Maria*, belonging to Juan de La Cosa, one of the most distinguished mariners of the age; the *Pinta*, commanded by Martin Pinzon, a flourishing shipmaster of Palos; and the *Niña*, commanded by his younger brother, Vincent Pinzon, who afterward acquired a very high reputation as an explorer. The final departure was from the Canary Islands on the 6th of September. In those

days of imperfect nautical instruments it was customary to sail first to the right parallel of latitude, and then, follow that parallel to the destination. An entry in Columbus' logbook on the day of leaving the Canaries says that he does not intend to swerve from his westward course until he sees the coast of Japan rising before him. One of the chief difficulties of the voyage was the dread of the sailors at venturing so far out upon an unknown sea. In those days, when men really



FIG. 37.—Ferdinand the Catholic. (Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella.")

believed in the existence of enchanted lands, there was no telling what one might come upon. Serious alarm was caused by the deflection of the compass-needle, which was now for the first time observed. It seemed as if the weird little instrument was getting bewitched; but Columbus was ready with a scientific theory which served to calm the agitation. After they had proceeded more than a thousand miles with the trade-wind directly astern, the sailors began to wonder whether it

would ever change so as to favor their return. Fortunately, while this subject was under discussion, even the steady trade-wind had a brief fit of inconstancy and blew for a few hours in their faces, much to the general relief. From the start Columbus kept two different reckonings of the distance sailed: a correct one, which he kept to himself; and a false one, understating the distances, which he showed daily to his crew. No doubt, this was very sinful; but it is to be feared that without this precaution the desired coasts would never have been reached. After travelling some 2700 miles, which the crews understood to be about 2000, Columbus himself became somewhat anxious, and, fearing lest he should be passing to the north of Japan, changed his course a couple of points to the southwest, the effect of which was to bring him upon one of the Bahama Islands, instead of the coast of Florida. Land was at length descried on the 12th of October, old style, corresponding to the 21st of October, new style. It was a small island inhabited by naked savages, by whom it seems to have been called Guanahani. The pious Columbus called it San Salvador; but, although both those names still remain upon the map, it is by no means certain which of the islands was called Guanahani in Columbus' time. The question is one over which much time has been spent, but it can hardly be said to have any importance.

For a moment, the exultation over the discovery of land was not impaired by doubts; for Marco Polo had led Columbus to expect to find near the Asiatic coast islands inhabited by savages. His first curiosity was to know in which direction were the nearest fine cities with gold and other precious things, and he understood the natives to say that he must go southward; following this hint, he was soon upon the northern coast of Cuba, where he found populous villages with evidences of culture decidedly above savagery. At this point in his diary, we come upon the first mention of tobacco by any civilized man. He found the natives smoking cigars. Conversations between Spaniards and American aborigines must have been rather droll affairs, and it was easy for Columbus to gather from them such information as he desired. At all events, he fancied that his informants told him he was upon the Asiatic mainland; and that being the case, he was rather surprised to see no traces of the high civilization described by Marco Polo. From this moment until the end of his life a strange pathos hangs over his career. In the pursuance of a scientific theory he had accomplished perhaps the greatest feat of daring that history has witnessed; he had done something that, in the nature of the case, could be done but once

in the career of mankind—he had brought the two hemispheres together. Yet this had not been his purpose; the wealth of the Indies, which was to be devoted to the holy crusade, was as far off as ever. But that he did not realize; for the rest of his career, we see him trying to convince himself and others that he had done what he set out to do. His whole future career thus becomes puzzled, and from this flowed much unhappiness. Well, if this was the mainland of Asia, the rich island Cipango would be found by retracing his course eastward; he had probably passed to the north of it, as he had feared; so he sailed eastward along the Cuban coast until one fine day Martin Pinzon, whose *Pinta* was the swiftest of the three ships, sailed away from him. A few days later, Columbus traversed the Windward Passage and came upon the coast of the island since known as Haiti but which, because it reminded him of some scenes in Spain, he called Hispaniola, or Spanish Land. Hearing

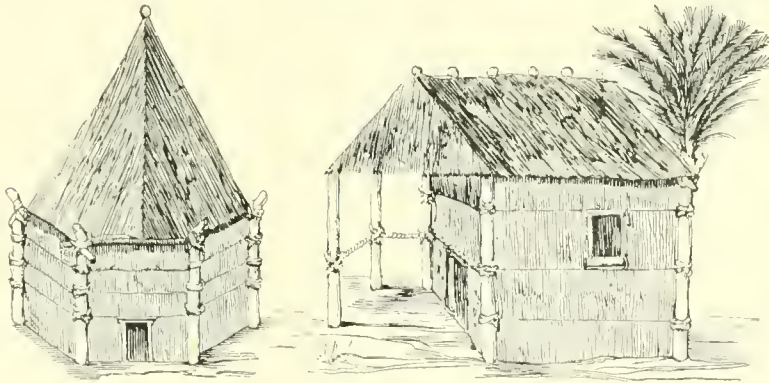


FIG. 38.—A Hispaniola wigwam. (Charton's "Voyageurs," vol. iii.)

that gold was to be found to the south, he felt that this might be Cipango, though he had not expected to find it so near the continent. At this point the proceedings were interrupted by an untoward accident. *La Cosa's* ship, the *Santa Maria*, largest and best of the three, ran aground and was beaten to pieces by the waves. Nothing was now left but the *Niña*, and the need for a speedy return to Spain was forcibly brought home to Columbus. The discovery of land must be announced as soon as possible, and the work must be resumed with more ample resources. Even now, Martin Pinzon, who would probably arrive first in the Old World, might be meditating treachery against the Italian adventurer.

But the *Niña* would not hold all the company, so it became necessary to leave forty men behind. On Christmas Day, a blockhouse made of the timbers of the lost ship was completed, and called *La Navidad*, or

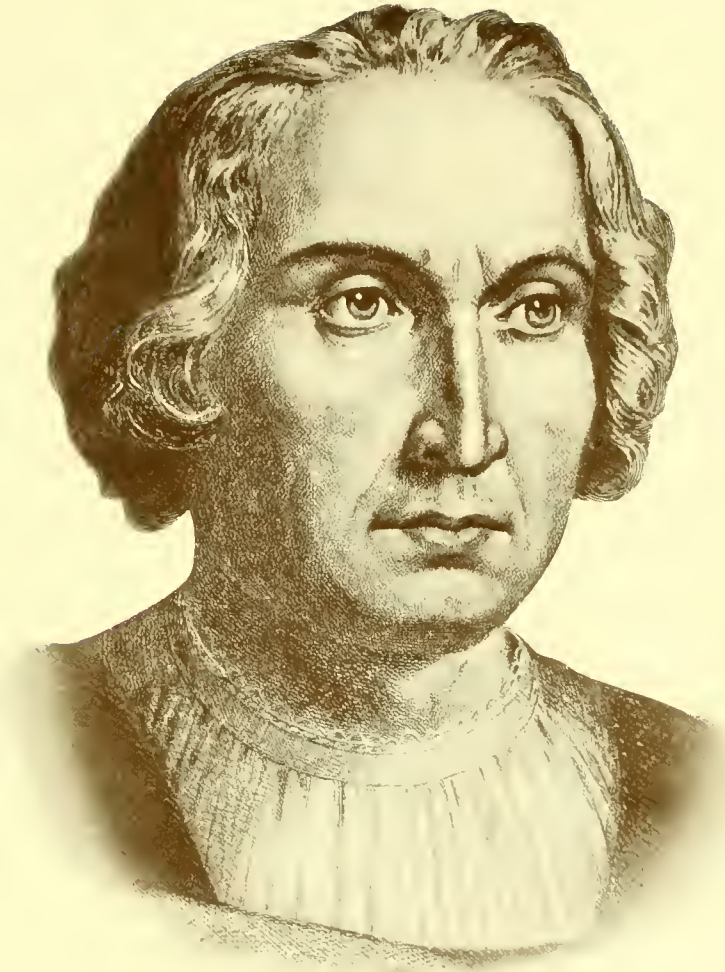
Nativity. Before leaving the country Columbus (PLATE VI.) again met Pinzon, who had been stopping to trade with the natives, and who had ready some excuse for his desertion. The two ships started out together, the *Pinta* having had her forerigging damaged so that she could no longer outsail her consort. Finding the trade-wind dead against him, Columbus struck northward as far as the thirty-seventh parallel; and after a terrible storm, in which the two ships were finally separated, he came to one of the Azores, where he was very rudely treated by the Portuguese inhabitants. After another storm he was driven into Lisbon, while Pinzon was carried to Bayonne in France. The news which Columbus brought was anything but welcome in Portugal; but the imprudence of offending Spain was so far understood that he was courteously treated and allowed to proceed on his way. The return of the *Niña* to Palos was the occasion of great rejoicing, and Columbus was the idol of the hour. He had been but a few hours ashore when the *Pinta* arrived from Bayonne. Her commander had sent a messenger across the Pyrenees to the Spanish sovereigns, giving his own version of the voyage and requesting an interview. Now, on reaching Palos, his nerves gave way and he kept out of sight as much as possible. Presently came a message from the sovereigns to Columbus to wait upon them at court at Barcelona, while Pinzon was coldly informed that they had no wish to see him. A few days afterward this captain died, either from the hardships which he had undergone, or, as some people said, of violent chagrin.

The reception of Columbus at Barcelona was the culminating moment in his life. He had with him sundry tropical products, besides half a dozen red men. He had not seen any of Marco Polo's cities, but believed that he had come very near them; and who could gainsay him? It was a moment of such triumph as has been vouchsafed to few men.

The unsoundness of the theory upon which all the actors in this scene of welcome were proceeding is curiously shown in the name given to the tawny visitors whom Columbus had brought with him. They were called Indians; and from that day to this, and no doubt for all future time, the aborigines of America have been and will be known as Indians. But why Indians, if they came from Japan? Because in those days the name "India" in common parlance was merely a vague designation for anything and everything Asiatic lying beyond Persia.

It is interesting to observe that Europe in general showed no great excitement over what had happened. In some cities of Italy verses

PLATE VI.



Columbus.

From an unlettered print. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.

were sung in the streets over the voyage which had discovered islands at so great a distance; in England some attention was given to the matter, and apparently Henry VII. was inclined to regret his excess of caution, for we shall see him within five years sending out John Cabot; but the interest was mainly confined to the Spanish peninsula, and there it excited contention. The King of Portugal maintained that the lands found by Columbus came within the donation of Pope Eugenius IV. to the Portuguese crown. The question was referred to Pope Alexander VI., who happened to be a Spaniard, but in this case clearly attempted to do even-handed justice. He selected an arbitrary meridian about one hundred leagues west of the Azores, and decreed that whatever heathen lands not already within the jurisdiction of any Christian power should



FIG. 39. Caravel like those of Columbus. (From photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.)

be discovered to the east of that meridian should belong to Portugal, but any that were discovered to the west of it should be the property of Spain; it made no difference by what people the discovery might be effected. No matter by whom discovered, all heathen lands must thenceforward go either to Portugal or to Spain—a rather cool arrangement, as Herbert Spencer calls it. It afterward led Francis I. of France to the mocking inquiry whether it had been made in pursuance of Father Adam's last will and testament, and, if so, where the copy was kept. The King of Portugal was not satisfied; and the next year, 1494, a treaty was made at Tordesillas, by which the line of demarcation was

moved 270 leagues further west. This revision, which was sanctioned by the pope, presently resulted in giving Brazil to Portugal.

The second voyage of Columbus was a very different affair from the first. It was not necessary now to empty the jails. He sailed with seventeen fine ships, carrying 1500 men, among them many high-born cavaliers just returned from the war in Italy. This great expedition discovered several of the Lesser Antilles, where for the first time civilized men were horrified at the evidences of cannibalism which they encountered; portions of human bodies, cured in smoke, hung from the roofs of the cabins, as we would hang hams or strings of onions. These man-eating Indians were called Caribales or Cannibales, from which have come our words "Carib" and "cannibal." On reaching the coast of Hispaniola the Spaniards found that their little colony had been destroyed—not one of the forty men was left to tell the tale; but from Indians they learned that there had been fierce quarrels, which ended in the massacre of all the strangers by the red men. It was not a cheerful beginning. The first work incumbent on Columbus was to found a colony with his 1500 men. A town was built and called Isabella. And now the worst trials of Columbus' life were beginning. It is a great pity that his work of discovery should have been encumbered by the thankless task of governing an unruly community. These men had come out in the hope of finding gold growing on bushes; and when they were confronted with all the hardships attendant upon a new colony they laid the blame upon this low-born Italian adventurer, by whose absurd stories their sovereigns had been fooled.

As soon as it was possible Columbus took three small caravels and started on a voyage of exploration, leaving his brother Diego in command of the little colony. He passed through the Windward Passage, discovered the island of Jamaica, and, returning northward, skirted the southern coast of Cuba nearly to its western end, where it trends to the southward. By comparing the coast with his Toscanelli map he arrived at the conclusion that this must be the country which we now call Cochin China, and he was so satisfied of this that he turned back when a few more miles would have brought him to the Yucatan Channel. Here there occurred a scene which modern writers usually misrepresent in a most ludicrous and discreditable manner. The great pilot La Cosa was still with Columbus, and agreed with him that they were on the coast of the Asiatic continent. The opinion of every one of the sailors was asked, and all agreed that so vast a coast as that which they were skirting never belonged to an island; but, as there were doubters and

scoffers in the little colony of Isabella, Columbus (Fig. 40) had these opinions put in the form of depositions before a notary public, and these depositions contained a clause which sounded less grotesque to mediaeval ears than to ours, to wit: "If I ever deny that I have said what I have said to-day, may my tongue be slit." This slitting the tip of the tongue was the recognized punishment for serious lying. Out of these facts modern writers have made the story that Columbus forced his crews to



FIG. 40.—Columbus. (After portrait in Paolo Giovio, "*Elogia Virorum bellica virtute illustrium*," Basel, 1596.)

declare that they were on the Asiatic coast by threatening to cut out their tongues; and more than one pair of hands have been raised in holy horror at such a dishonorable and tyrannical action. But the original document may be seen at Madrid in the Royal Archives of the Indies, and it is printed in full in Navarrete's great collection, which may be read in almost any great library. There is nothing in the document to

show that Columbus threatened anybody, or that all the opinions were not freely and spontaneously given, as there is no reason to doubt they were. The fuss which modern writers have made over this affair is simply ridiculous.

The return voyage to Isabella carried the ships around the south side of Hispaniola, thus proving that it was too small for Japan, so that the puzzle became greater than ever. On arriving at Isabella it was found that Bartholomew Columbus had come upon the scene and taken command. Things were in a frightful state. Some of the cavaliers had come out in open revolt, and, to add to the trouble, there was an Indian war on land. Such bad news went home to Spain that the sovereigns sent out a person named Aguado to investigate the situation. This Aguado was won over by the malcontents, so that when he decided to return to Spain in 1496 Columbus thought it best to go with him and be able to present his own story. The chief source of trouble was the disgust at not finding riches; and the hold of Columbus upon the sovereigns was weakened by the fact that his enterprise thus far, instead of being a source of gain, was a heavy burden upon the Spanish treasury. It is not unlikely that the whole undertaking would have been abandoned but for the fact that in 1496 gold-mines were discovered in the southern part of the island. This led to the transfer of the colony from Isabella to the southern coast, and the founding of a city which was called San Domingo, after the patron saint of Columbus' father.

It was unfortunate for Columbus that he had in Spain a powerful and un-erupulous enemy. The council for the Indies had been constituted, and at its head was Juan de Fonseca, occupant of many bishoprics, but best known as Bishop of Burgos. This Fonseca was a bold, pushing, coarse-fibred man, of a type not uncommon, who seems to have had an ingrained antipathy to whatever was refined and high-minded. He was once smubbed by Queen Isabella for rudeness to Columbus, and hated him with a deadly hatred for the rest of his life.

For the present, the dissatisfaction of the sovereigns was shown by an edict which threw open the navigation of the Indies to all mariners who could equip vessels for the purpose. This overthrew the monopoly which had been granted to Columbus; but beyond this no evidences of personal dissatisfaction were shown him. A new expedition was fitted out, with which he sailed in the spring of 1498, intending to search for Cipango in a somewhat more southerly direction than he had heretofore taken. The result was the discovery of the island of Trinidad and the

continent of South America, at the mouth of the Orinoco River. This was a great surprise. Columbus well understood that a river so enormous could not be produced except upon land of continental dimensions, but not yet did it occur to him that he had reached a new world. This land, he thought, might be that upon which had been planted the Garden of Eden, and he fancied that the terrestrial paradise might still be situated among the summits of the lofty mountains which sent down this stupendous body of fresh water. After skirting the coast for a short distance he crossed to San Domingo. Things were in worse shape than ever. A scoundrel named Roldan had stirred up rebellion against Bartholomew, and the affair had assumed the dimensions of civil war. The sturdy Bartholomew, however, was equal to the situation. The rebellion was suppressed, the Indians were beaten off, and all might have gone well had there been no interference; but now there came upon the scene one Bobadilla, whom the sovereigns had sent to inquire into the proceedings upon the island. Matters seemed so serious that they clothed him with power to arrest persons and send them home to Spain. Now, this Bobadilla was a creature of Fonseca, and his first act was to take side with the rebels, confiscate the property of the brothers Columbus, and send Christopher in irons on board ship. This, however, was going too far. The sovereigns had not contemplated such high-handed proceedings. On the arrival of Columbus at Cadiz, Isabella sent for him and wept over his ill treatment, while Fonseca was sharply rebuked.

Yet once more the heroic Italian was to be sent upon a voyage of discovery, while the work of governing unruly Spaniards was to be entrusted to other hands. This fourth and last voyage differed in its purpose from the earlier ones. It was called forth by a great achievement on the part of the Portuguese. In 1497, Vasco da Gama (Fig. 11) had doubled the Cape of Good Hope and crossed the Indian Ocean; and when he returned, two years later, there was no doubt as to where he had been. There was no puzzle about the coast he had visited. It was that of Hindostan, and his ships were loaded with the richest goods of the east. At this moment it must have seemed as if Portugal had been in the right and Spain in the wrong in the methods pursued. The object of Columbus was to remedy the difficulty by finding the Strait of Malacca, through which Marco Polo had once sailed from China to Hindostan. It may be said that the reputation of Japan had seriously suffered from the results of recent voyages. John Cabot and his son, in 1497 and 1498, had crossed the Atlantic by

northerly routes, and found a howling wilderness. What we may call the Cipango boom was at an end, and the Hindostan boom was uppermost.

It was evident that the troubles in Hispaniola had been largely due to the impatience of Spaniards at being commanded by foreigners. A strong government was required, and for that purpose the sovereigns sent Nicolas de Ovando, half knight, half priest, a member of one of the military orders of which Spaniards were so fond. This Ovando was a mild, dapper little man, gentle in manner and soft in speech; but a sterner disciplinarian never lived. There was no such thing as standing up against his will; and if ever a community was ruled with a rod



FIG. 41.—Vasco da Gama. (From Ruge's "*Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*.")

of iron, it was Hispaniola under this slim, fair-haired, gentle priest. He could do things as cruel as Nero with as little compunction and with as much grace as he would pick up a lady's fan.

Ovando came to Hispaniola in 1502 with a fleet of thirty ships, bringing more than 2500 people; for gold-mining had begun to be profitable, and the natives were being enslaved by hundreds. On a summer day of 1502, Columbus arrived in the harbor with four small caravels and about 150 men; with him were his brother Bartholomew and his younger son Ferdinand, then a boy of fourteen years. This Ferdinand lived to become one of the greatest scholars of the age, and

has left us a biography of his father which Washington Irving long ago rightly called "the cornerstone of American history." In Ferdinand's book we have a most graphic account of this last eventful voyage of his father. He had been told not to stop at San Domingo on the way out, but he might land there on the return voyage, by which time it was hoped that all the troubles would have been quieted. As one of his ships needed repair, however, Columbus entered the harbor and asked permission to land for that purpose. Now, the soft little Ovando was one of Fonseca's creatures, and with him were the rebel Roldan and that Bobadilla who had sent Columbus home in fetters. It was not a friendly company, and their only answer to Columbus was a

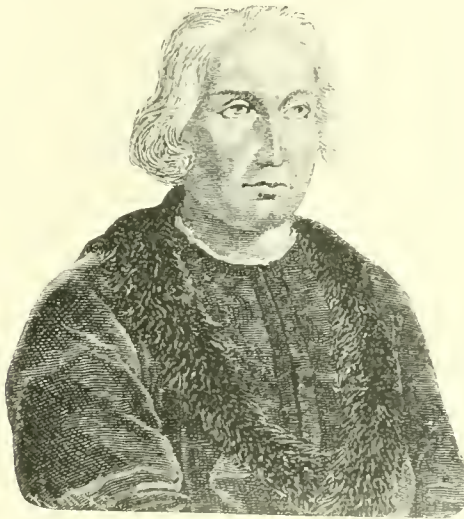


FIG. 42.—Columbus. (After painting in Ministry of Marine, Madrid.)

brutal order to leave the harbor and go about his business. Such was the treatment which this great man received from these worthless wretches. But for once the mills of God ground with encouraging speed. A fleet of twenty ships was ready to sail for Spain, taking Roldan and Bobadilla with an enormous treasure. In one of these ships was a quantity of gold consigned to Columbus himself; as he left the harbor, he warned his insulting enemies that a hurricane was approaching and they would do well to delay their sailing. He then ran his ships to a sheltered cove not far distant and awaited the tempest; but the sea was smooth, not a breath of air was stirring, and these landlubbers, scorning good advice, weighed anchor and stood out to sea. In the hurricane which

soon came upon them nearly all the ships perished. Roldan and Bobadilla were among the drowned, while one of the few ships that were saved was the one which carried Columbus' (Fig. 42) property. In this event young Ferdinand saw the hand of Providence.

It will be remembered that on his second voyage Columbus mistook the southern coast of Cuba for that of Cochin China. He now felt sure that by pursuing it some distance farther he should reach the Strait of Malacca, through which, of course, he could enter the Indian Ocean. He may or may not by this time have heard of the Yucatan Channel, which, as we shall see, had been discovered in 1497; but it is quite clear that he had not yet learned the insularity of Cuba. The open water of the Yucatan Channel seems to have puzzled him; for when he struck the coast of Honduras, trending southward, the revival of hope in his mind seems to be indicated by the name which he gave to the promontory that first caught his eye—Cape Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God. He followed this coast as far as the Isthmus of Darien without finding the desired strait; by that time his ships were in such bad condition that he felt it necessary to return to San Domingo, where he now had the royal permission to land; but in a severe storm his vessels were wrecked and his whole party thrown upon the shores of Jamaica. A boat was sent to inform Ovando of the disaster and ask for assistance. It seems incredible that he should have delayed it for nearly a year, until public sympathy for the stranded men grew so strong, and priests became so outspoken in upbraiding the governor, that at length he sent a vessel which brought the survivors to Hispaniola. Thus, after such misery as he had scarcely endured before, the great discoverer returned in 1504 to Spain, to find his friend, Queen Isabella, on her deathbed. He was now an old man, quite broken by disappointments and hardships; and on Ascension Day, 1506, he breathed his last in a little house which is still standing at Valladolid. Ferdinand says that to the day of his father's death he kept hanging in his room the fetters which Bobadilla had placed on him. There is great and pathetic significance in the fact that the local annals of that city make no mention of the passing away of so famous a man. It indicates that for the moment he had sunk into a kind of obscurity; yet we must not make too much of such an indication, for his son Diego immediately succeeded him as admiral of the Indies, and two years later married the Princess Maria de Toledo, who was connected with the royal family. Somewhat later, when Ovando's rule had become intolerable, Diego Columbus succeeded him as viceroy of the Indies, and went in state to San Domingo, bringing with him his



FIG. 43.—Sebastian Cabot. (Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol," vol. ii.)

vice-queen and the usual gathering of courtiers. From Diego and Maria are descended the Dukes of Veragua.

It remains to tell how the discovery of America was completed. Of the voyages that were made in 1497 and afterward, it is by no means necessary, in a condensed narrative like the present, to mention all. I shall deal only with those which were of real historical importance. We have already alluded to the voyage of John Cabot in 1497; this

famous mariner was, like Columbus, a native of Genoa, but had lived for a number of years in Venice before passing into the English service. His son, Sebastian Cabot (Fig. 13), has been called a Venetian, and may have been born in Venice. In England the family lived at Bristol, which was then one of the most enterprising seaports in the kingdom. The news of the first voyage of Columbus probably made Henry VII. regret that he had not accepted the proposals made to him by that mariner's brother. In 1497, he sent John Cabot on a westward voyage in a single ship, the *Matthew*. This was in flat disregard of the bull of Alexander VI.; but, while Henry was a good Catholic, we can readily understand that he paid to papal bulls as much respect as suited his own convenience. Cabot crossed the Atlantic mostly above the fiftieth parallel, and found land which he supposed was China or some part of the territory of the potentate vaguely known as the Grand Khan of Tartary, a name which, like India, stood for almost anything in the dim and shadowy East. On Cabot's return to England he was much glorified, and the thrifty king made him a present of ten pounds in reward of his achievement. It should be remembered, however, that the value of money at that time was nearly tenfold what it is to-day, so that this munificent gift must have answered to five hundred dollars! A second voyage was made by John Cabot and his son Sebastian in 1498. From this time forth we hear no more of the father, while the son before long passes into the service of Spain. So little is known about these two voyages, that most of their details are subjects of dispute to the present day. Some have thought that in the first voyage the landfall was on the coast of Labrador; some maintain that it was Cape Breton; while, as for the second voyage, it has been asserted that the North American coast was followed all the way from Nova Scotia to Florida, but this is not probable. It is most likely that both voyages were confined between the northern and southern limits of Davis Strait and Cape Cod. They contributed scarcely anything to geographical knowledge, and play but little part in the chain of causation which completed the discovery of America. Their only historical significance is that they gave England in later days a chance to lay claim to the soil of North America, on the ground of Cabot's discovery; and inasmuch as England had strength enough to sustain the claim, it thus acquired importance.

More than half a century elapsed before England felt any further interest in western voyages, and the reason is obvious. No signs of civilization, no great cities, no gold-mines were found by the Cabots, and the value of the American fur-trade was not yet suspected. The

existence of the Newfoundland fisheries, however, was revealed; and from that time forth the stout fishermen of Brittany and the Basque provinces of Spain visited the banks of Newfoundland every year. Cape Breton is probably the oldest European name upon the North American continent.

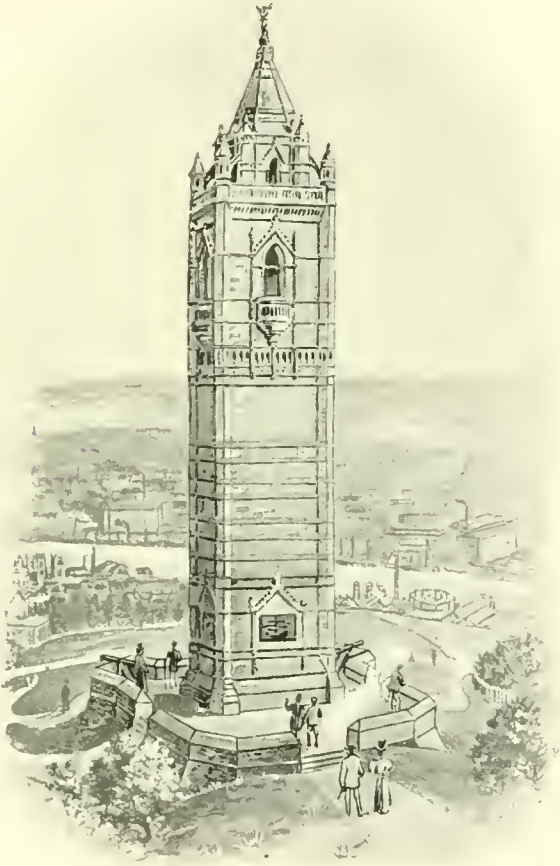


FIG. 44.—Cabot tower at Bristol. ("Proceedings of Royal Society of Canada," 1897.)

We next come to a navigator whose career has until lately been the subject of more misunderstanding and perplexity than perhaps that of any other man in history. Ameriens Vespucius has suffered partly from the scarcity of the original text of his writings, which has caused him to be read in a translation containing strange errors, and partly

because of a widespread feeling that some deception must have been connected with naming this continent America, instead of Columbia. This last point may be at once disposed of by saying that the name America was not originally applied to any region which Columbus had ever visited, but to a portion of the coast of Brazil, which Americus was the first to visit and describe. In the course of long years of usage the name came to cover the whole of South America, and ultimately the northern continent also. But that was not the fault of Vesputius or anybody connected with him. All names of continents have arisen from small beginnings in just the same way. The words "Europe"



FIG. 15. Americus Vesputius. (From an old Spanish engraving. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

and "Asia," which are both of Phoenician origin, meaning west and east, originally designated only the western and eastern shores of the Aegean Sea. The name "Africa" originally meant only what we call Tunis; we have already seen how the name "Greenland" at first meant only the green spot visited by Eric the Red; and in just this way did the name "America" come to cover the western hemisphere. Of course, nobody would have thought of calling the new world after Columbus,

because nobody knew that he had discovered a new world. Before a name could be applied to the western hemisphere it had to be known that there was a western hemisphere to be named, and that knowledge grew up very slowly.

Americus Vespucius (Fig. 45) was born at Florence in 1451 ; he came of good family and was fairly well educated. Until nearly forty years of age he was employed in the great commercial house of the Medici. At one time he seems to have been sent on an embassy to Louis XI. of France. He took great interest in astronomy and the branches of mathematics that bear upon navigation, and, although we know nothing of his undertaking a voyage until middle life, he proved himself able to calculate latitudes and longitudes better than almost any other sailor of his time. He was fond of collecting maps and books on geography. Further than this, we know little concerning his career until about 1490 he was sent to Cadiz, where he became connected with the commercial house of Berardi. He afterward married a Spanish lady. Part of Berardi's business was the equipment and supplying of ships, and Americus had much to do with fitting out the second expedition of Columbus in 1493. This was the beginning of a lifelong friendship between Vespucius and Columbus.

Vespucius made four voyages, and perhaps six. Upon the first he started in 1497, upon the second in 1499, upon the third in 1501, and upon the fourth in 1503. He has left us an account of these voyages in a letter written in 1504 to Soderini, who was then chief magistrate of Florence. He seems to have intended to write a more extended narrative and to publish it as a book, but seems never to have found time for more than the brief abstract which this letter contains. The letter was published at Soderini's request, by the printer Pacini of Florence, in 1505. Only five copies of this priceless work are now known to exist. For a long time, its existence was overlooked ; but in 1875 the eminent Brazilian scholar, Varnhagen, declared that it was the original from which the Latin letter, long generally known, was translated. Quite a number of scholars have accepted this conclusion. For myself, after a long and minute study of the diction of this Italian text, I feel thoroughly satisfied that Varnhagen's opinion is correct. It is the work of a writer who had long disused his native Tuscan speech, and it is interlarded with sea-phrases in Spanish and Portuguese ; not in the classical form of those languages, but in such diction as one would hear in the fore-castle. No man could ever have written that letter but a Florentine who had lived for years with Portuguese and Spanish seamen.

I speak with emphasis upon this point, because most of the puzzles regarding the career of Vespucci have grown out of a single error contained in the Latin version of the letter, which this Italian original enables us to correct. Vespucci tells us that in latitude 23° north he visited on this first voyage a place which the Latin version calls "Parias." Now, "Parias" was a name applied to the coast of Venezuela, which Vespucci visited on his second voyage; and although Parias does not lie anywhere near the twenty-third parallel, modern scholars at once began to suspect that Vespucci invented the account of his first voyage in order to make it appear that he had visited Parias, and therefore the continent of South America, one year before the visit of Columbus in 1498, instead of one year later. It was assumed that he did this in order to get that new world, of which neither he nor anybody else knew the existence, named after himself instead of his friend Columbus. This is all very silly; we now know that this first voyage had no connection whatever with the appearance of the name "America" upon the map.

In the Italian original, the name of the place at the twenty-third parallel is given as "Lariab" instead of "Parias." Looking at the coast of Mexico at that point, we find that "ab" was a common termination among local names. Dismissing, then, Venezuela from our minds, and applying simple common sense to the understanding of Amerigo's letter, most of the difficulty with regard to his first voyage vanishes. The number of leagues run brought him to a point on the sixteenth parallel, namely, Honduras, at that very cape which Columbus five years later was to call *Gracias a Dios*; thence passing through the Yucatan Channel and crossing the Gulf of Mexico, he reached his Lariab on the site of Tampico; from which returning, he passed between Cuba and Florida at the end of April, 1498, came up our coast perhaps as far as Chesapeake Bay, then stood out to the Bermuda Islands, and thence returned to Spain. Such is Varnhagen's theory of the first voyage of Vespucci. I have been able to reinforce it with very important testimony from a map which had long lain unnoticed in the ducal library at Modena, until it was brought to light a few years ago by Henry Harrisse. This map was made shortly before November 19, 1502, at which date it was sent from Lisbon to Hercules, Duke of Este, husband of Lucretia Borgia. It was made by a well-known draughtsman at Lisbon, named Alberto Cantino (PLATE VII.). It shows the entire coast of Florida, with a stretch to the north, and it represents Cuba correctly as an island. Upon the coast of Florida are twenty-two Spanish names, not one of which has remained upon the



This map closely resembles Cantino's, both being copied from the same original, which is now lost. From Kretschmer, "Die Entdeckung Amerikas."

spot. A few of these names are misunderstood and misspelled by the draughtsman, whose knowledge of Spanish is evidently weak. Few sights could have been more astonishing to the historian than this long-neglected map, for it absolutely demonstrates that Spanish seamen had sailed between Cuba and Florida before November, 1502. But apparently history preserves no other record of any such voyage, and have we not always been taught that the insularity of Cuba was first proved by Ocampo in 1508? What shall be said about this?

The solution of the difficulty is to be found in the fact that the eminent Spanish historian, Herrera, writing about a century after the event, made a natural but very grave mistake. Herrera tells us that Vincent Pinzon, in company with Juan de Solís and the famous pilot Ledesma, sailed to the coast of Honduras in 1506. He does not give many details of this voyage, but says that it was made in order to pursue further the explorations just made by Columbus. Now, as Columbus came home from his last voyage in 1504, Herrera thinks this voyage of Pinzon was made in 1506. Now, I have proved, from a comparison of old account-books of payments and receipts, that Pinzon was not absent from Spain during the year 1506, at any time, more than three or four weeks; so that he could not have made a voyage that year. Herrera is therefore mistaken as to the date; he is clearly not mistaken, however, in saying that Pinzon's voyage was intended to supplement that of his old companion, Columbus; only it is Columbus' second voyage, and not his fourth, that is meant. It will be remembered that, when Columbus returned to Spain in 1496, he brought the record of his voyage along the south coast of Cuba nearly to what we know as its western end. In 1497, therefore, did Pinzon set out upon this voyage, which was to supplement the one just made; he takes with him the famous pilot Ledesma, and also the trained amateur in astronomy, Americus, and they make their landfall at Honduras, hard by the spot where Columbus had stopped. We thus get a logical sequence; but there is no such connection between this voyage and Columbus' fourth. This view of the case is supported by certain statements in the contemporary historians, Peter Martyr, Oviedo, and Gomara, which are unintelligible except on the supposition that Pinzon made his voyage in 1497 and 1498. We thus find that history does confirm the Cantino map. That map agrees with the letter of Vespucci and with what we now see reason to believe regarding the voyage of Pinzon; and curiously enough, another map has lately come to light, made in 1502 by the draughtsman Canerio, which still further confirms us. I am pleased to

add that one of the greatest geographers in Europe, M. Gabriel Marcel, in giving an account of this argument of mine, has declared himself convinced by it.

We are now able to understand the map made in the year 1500 by the great pilot La Cosa (PLATE VIII.), the earliest map which shows any part of the New World. In 1494, La Cosa had declared his belief that Cuba was part of a continent; in 1500, he plainly indicates its insularity; but, instead of giving geographical details, he fills the space behind it with a picture representing St. Christopher wading across the ocean, carrying upon his shoulder the infant Jesus, as a message for the heathen. What had happened since 1494 to change La Cosa's opinion? In 1499, Americus made his second voyage; he was not captain now, as he had not been before. Alonzo de Ojeda was the captain this time, and with him were Americus and La Cosa as pilots. It was soon after his return from this voyage that La Cosa made the map in question. Evidently Americus had told him that Cuba was an island. It was on this voyage of 1499 that Americus visited the Gulf of Maracaibo, where there was a small Indian village built upon piles, somewhat like the old lake-villages of Switzerland; the boats could sail about among the houses, and Vespuceius quite naturally called it a little Venice, or *Venezuela*. The name, as usual, has become expanded until it covers a country as big as France.

The third voyage in which Americus took part was made in the service of Portugal. We have seen how Gama returned from Hindustan in the summer of 1499. The news determined the King of Portugal to send a large fleet for the purpose of founding a trading-station on the Malabar coast. This was the beginning of the great Indian empire which Portugal obtained and held for nearly a century, until it was taken away by the Dutch. The expedition set sail in January, 1500, consisting of fourteen ships under command of Pedro de Cabral. In sailing down by Africa, this navigator took a more westerly course than any of his predecessors. Perhaps he may have hoped thus to avoid the belt of calms, the nature and causes of which were not yet understood. However this may be, he got into the strong current which sweeps northwestwardly from the Cape of Good Hope to the coast of Brazil, and thus, before he had begun to realize how far out of his course he was drifting, he saw land on the starboard. It was the coast of Brazil, some eight or ten degrees south of the equator. It was difficult in those days to calculate longitude with any approach to precision, but Cabral knew the king's strong desire to have a finger in the western





La Cosa's Map, 1500.

From Kretschmer "Die Entdeckung Amerikas."

pie, and he felt sure that this land must lie east of the papal meridian. He called it the Land of Parrots, and sent back to Lisbon one of his ships with some of those gorgeous birds and the news of his discovery.

Of this voyage, it may be remarked that, even if Columbus had never lived, America would have been discovered at nearly the same time. It would have been accidentally discovered by Cabral. He was not pursuing any method of Columbus, but simply wandered from the track which all the previous Portuguese captains had been following. Now, while Cabral continued his way to Hindostan, the King of Portugal was thinking how he might best lay hands on this new country to the west. A novel interest attached to it, for it was clearly not China; perhaps it might be the coast of some of the islands to which Marco Polo had referred as lying in a southerly direction from China.



FIG. 46.—The Nancy Globe. ("Magazine of American History," vol. vi.)

Surely, it would be well to obtain the services of some navigator already familiar with western waters; so the king applied to Amerigus, and succeeded in securing him. A small fleet was fitted out under command of a Portuguese captain, whose name remains so obscure that there has been some difficulty in identifying him; but it appears to have been Nuno Manuel. Vespuceius was chief pilot. Starting in May, 1501, they struck the Brazilian coast at Cape San Roque, and spent several months in skirting it, frequently landing and making long stops ashore. Thus it was on All Saints' Day, late in the autumn, that they reached the water ever since known as Bay of All Saints. Other names commemorating this very important voyage occur upon that coast. These navigators had seen rivers of such huge dimensions that they

were prepared for fresh wonders of that sort. A year before the voyage of which we are speaking, Vincent Pinzon had been sailing off the coast of Brazil, more than a hundred miles out at sea, when, dipping his buckets, he found to his great surprise that the water was fresh enough to drink; turning westward to satisfy his curiosity, he entered the mouth of the mighty Amazon, which he found to be eighty miles in width. Americus and his friends had heard of this river and of the Orinoco; hence when, on New Year's Day, 1502, they reached a certain bay, since very famous, they at first took it for another great river, and called it River of January, or Rio de Janeiro; and so they kept on until they reached the mouth of La Plata; here they suddenly changed their course and stood southeast. Americus, in his letter, does not tell us why this change of direction was made, but the reason is too obvious to need stating. The westerly trend of the South American coast had already brought him considerably to the westward of the papal meridian; there was no use in discovering any more territory in that direction, for it could only benefit the King of Spain; but there might well enough be new land to the southeast, so Americus ran on in that direction until early in April, when he saw land before him, and such a land! Captain Cook, who rediscovered it in 1775 and named it Georgia after his king, said it was the vilest spot he had ever seen upon the globe, and he could speak from wide experience. It was a mountainous island, covered with glaciers to the water's edge, and the climate was one perpetual blizzard, insomuch that Vespucci's sailors did not venture to land. But, as soon as the ships could signal one another, they stood about for home. The course which they now took was peculiar, and of itself marks out Vespucci as one of the most skillful and daring navigators that ever lived. He wished to strike the African coast at Sierra Leone; but, instead of running due north to the desired latitude and then turning at right angles, after the fashion of all other mariners, including Columbus, he directed his prow northeastward, aiming directly at the spot where he supposed Sierra Leone to be, and reached it according to his calculations, after a run of 4000 miles. In his letter, he merely states the fact without comment, as if it were nothing unusual. In September, 1502, he reached Lisbon.

This voyage excited far more interest in Europe than either the first crossing of the Atlantic by Columbus or the voyage of Gama to Hindostan. These voyages concerned regions with which men either were, or supposed themselves to be, already somewhat acquainted. But this long stretch of land beyond the equator, and this actual sight of Ant-

the fourth. Cabral and Vespuceus were therefore believed to have really discovered a new portion of the earth, while Columbus was supposed to have merely discovered a new route to lands already known.

Six months after his return to Lisbon, Americus wrote a letter to his old friend, Lorenzo de' Medici (son of Francesco, not the famous son of Cosmo), giving him a brief but most interesting account of this voyage. Soon afterward Lorenzo died, and Americus went forth on another expedition for exploring this newly found land. In his letter occurs for the first time the phrase "new world." He says: "We came to land which it might seem proper to call a new world, because men were formerly in doubt whether such existed." The reference to Mela is as obvious as if he had quoted his name. One of Lorenzo's friends, the famous architect Giocondo, who was then building a bridge over the Seine at Notre Dame, happened to be in Florence, and found this letter among Lorenzo's effects. He was much excited by it, and, on returning to Paris, translated it into Latin, and published it toward the end of 1503, with a title-page of his own composing, in which the little tract is called "The New World, or The Antarctic Coast lately discovered by the King of Portugal," thus quaintly accrediting the principal with the deed of his agent. Observe that it was a new world, not because it was on the west side of the Atlantic, but because it was a new land south of the equator.

In those days, when men wanted a scientific book, instead of writing one afresh, they would very commonly take an ancient Greek or Latin writer and edit him with additions and amendments; and this putting of new wine into old bottles sometimes had curious results. In 1504, at the little college of St. Dié in the Vosges Mountains, not far from the birthplace of Joan of Arc, a little group of scholars were making a new edition of Ptolemy, incorporating therein the maritime discoveries of the last few years. The text was carefully edited by a brilliant young scholar, Matthias Ringmann, an expert in Greek and a writer of charming Latin verse. The new scientific portions were contributed by another young professor, aged three and twenty, a native of Freiburg, whose name was Martin Waldseemüller. Now, the book was delayed because Ringmann had to wait for a certain manuscript from Italy, and in point of fact it did not get published until 1513; but in April, 1507, Waldseemüller had completed his new introduction to the book, and just at that moment he received a French translation of the Italian letter which Americus had written to Soderini, and which had been published at Florence in 1505. This French version was now translated into Latin,

with many mistakes which have done much to puzzle posterity, and Waldseemüller forthwith published his introduction, appending to it this Latin letter. That little book is now very rare. Early in the present century, a copy was picked up on one of the quays at Paris for a franc; but the last time that copy changed hands, it brought more than a thousand dollars. It is now in the Lenox Library, New York. In this little book, Waldseemüller makes two references to Vespuceius; in one place he says: "Of late years, these three parts (meaning Europe, Asia, and Africa) have been more thoroughly explored, and the fourth part has lately been discovered by that ingenious mariner, Americus; wherefore I see no reason why we should not call it 'America' after Americus, a man, since Europe and Asia took their names from women." Our youthful professor, it will be seen, liked his little academic joke. Like a great deal of professorial wisdom, it was all wrong, since Europe was not named for the fair Europa, nor Asia for the wife of one of the Titans. Neither was Brazil what the professor supposed it to be, the Fourth Part imagined by Pomponius Mela.

It is perfectly clear that Waldseemüller had no intention of bringing Vespuceius into comparison with Columbus, or of exalting him at the latter's expense. On the map which was made for this edition of Ptolemy, and which appears to have passed under his own supervision, we find upon the Venezuelan coast the inscription that it was discovered in 1498 by Christopher Columbus; and so little did the professor care for his own wit, that the name America does not appear upon the map. It will be remembered that Ferdinand Columbus wrote his father's biography, in which he shows himself exceedingly sensitive in regard to that father's reputation. The slightest hint of disparagement of Christopher calls forth Ferdinand's vehement wrath. Now, Ferdinand was a great collector of books; he accumulated not less than 20,000 volumes, which he left at his death to the cathedral of Seville, and there one may still find all of them that have not perished from neglect. There you may still see the copy of Waldseemüller's book, which Ferdinand bought in 1519, and which remained in his possession until his death, eighteen years later. It was Ferdinand's habit to make marginal notes in his books, and this little treatise has many such marginal references; but opposite the passage where the name America is suggested, Ferdinand has no comment whatever, not even so much as an exclamation-point. He understood very well that there was no intention of detracting from anything which his father had done.

It was natural that Waldseemüller's suggestion should be adopted,

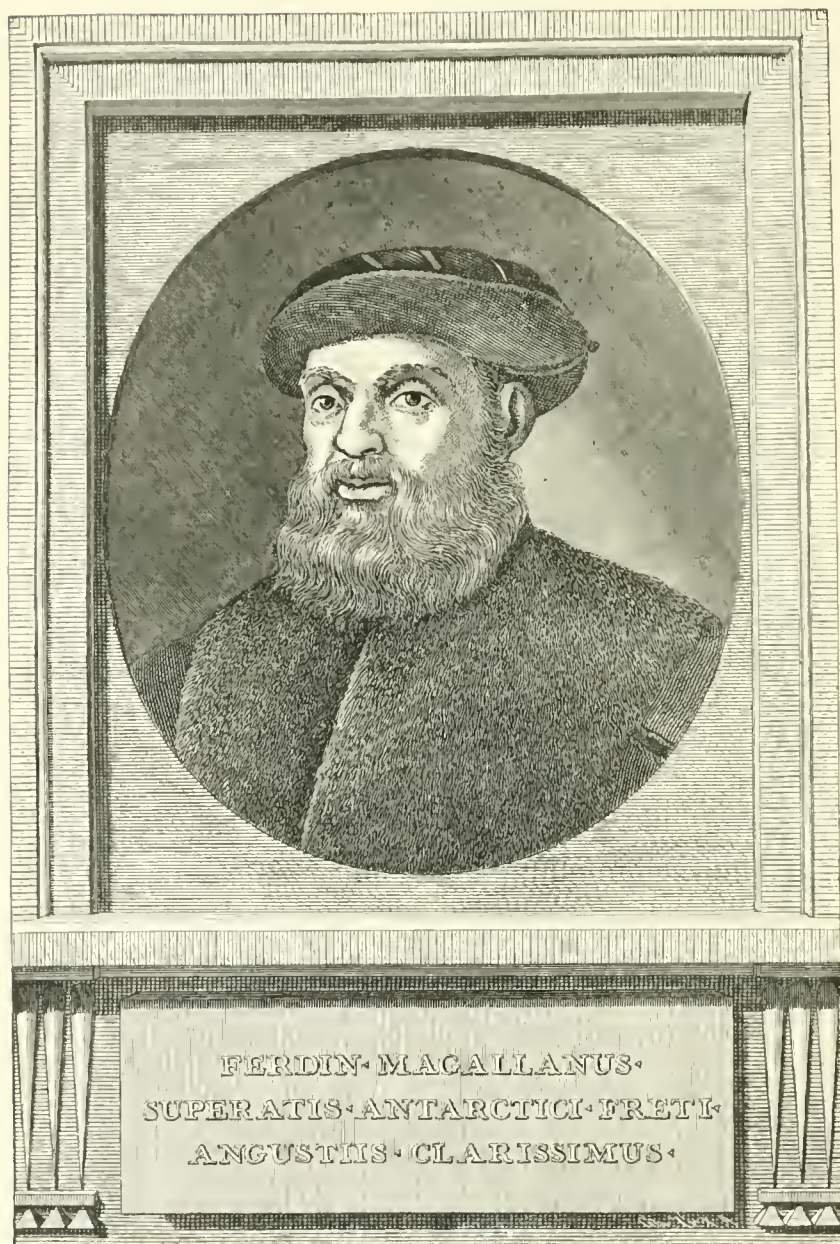


FIG. 48.—Ferdinand Magellan. (After the portrait by Selma, in Navarrete, "Coleccion de los viages," tom. iv.)

and before 1520 we begin to find the name America upon maps, where it is invariably placed south of the equator, in regions never visited by Columbus. On some maps, we find the inscription "America, or New World"; sometimes "New World" occurs alone, but likewise invariably south of the equator; sometimes we find the inscription "America, or New World, or Brazil," thus implying the equivalence of the three names, the last of which was given to the country when a certain dye-wood was found there similar to the Brazil-wood which had for ages been brought from Sumatra. This name Brazil supplanted the others, while America became expanded so as to cover first the southern continent, and afterward the northern, when it had come to be known that there was such a continent. The first map in which the double continent appears distinctly marked off from the Old World, and bearing the name by which it is now known, was the map published by Mercator in 1541; on that map, the letters "AME" appear about on the site of the Great Lakes, while the letters "RICA" are in the Argentine Republic. But the epithet "Indies" was far more common, and the seventeenth century had come in before "America" was in general use. To this day, if you speak of America to Spaniards, they will almost certainly understand you to refer to South America. Perhaps the late war may serve to widen the scope of their thoughts.

The remainder of the life of Vesputius does not concern us here, and may be summed up in a few words. For what reason we know not, he returned in 1505 to the service of Spain, where he was appointed to the highest post in the Spanish marine, that of Pilot Major, an office which he held until his death in 1512.

The discovery of America was not yet completed; it was necessary not only to look at the Pacific Ocean, but to cross it, before the geographical problem could be fully solved. This gigantic feat was accomplished in 1518-24, by Ferdinand Magellan (Figs. 48 and 49), a Portuguese navigator who had passed into the Spanish service. Pope Alexander VI. had not drawn any demarcating meridian upon the Pacific Ocean, and it was a question whether the Molucca Islands, with their wealth of spices, were more or less than 180 degrees east of the Atlantic line of demarcation. The Portuguese, pursuing their eastward routes, reached these islands in 1511. The purpose of Magellan's voyage was to reach them by sailing westward, and, if possible, to assert a claim to them on the part of Spain. It was in many respects the most wonderful voyage on record. Magellan had to contend against every hardship by which mariners can be beset—starvation, scurvy, mutiny, shipwreck, and the

dread of the unknown; but his steadfast courage surmounted them all. He started from Spain with five ships, pursued the South American coast until he reached the strait which now bears his name, whence issuing forth and making northwestward for the equator, he crossed the Pacific Ocean where it is widest. This voyage gave the Philippine Islands to Spain, and on one of those islands the hero was killed in a skirmish with some worthless savages.) But the circumnavigation of the earth was completed by his lieutenant, Eleano. Of the five ships, with their complement of nearly 300 men, only one arrived in Spain, with eighteen ghost-like survivors to tell the wondrous tale.



FIG. 49. Ferdinand Magellan. (From an unlettered print in collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

The results of this voyage soon began to appear upon maps, but they were too great to be quickly appreciated. In a map made in 1531 by Orontius Finæus, a French professor of mathematics, the North American coast is represented as the coast of Asia; the city of Mexico is given in its proper place, while about a thousand miles to the north of it comes the city of Peking; southward from this continent jut the peninsulas of Hindostan and Farther India, while the Pacific Ocean figures as Ptolemy's landlocked sea, surrounded on every side by land.

To the east of it comes South America, fairly well delineated, but represented as continuous with the Antarctic Continent. Indeed, through the remainder of that century, the few navigators who entered the Pacific upon that side passed through the Strait of Magellan, and it was not until 1616 that the great Dutch sailor, Schouten van Horn, discovered the cape which terminates the continent.



FIG. 50.—Da Vinci's map. (From Kretzschmer's "Die Entdeckung Amerikas," Berlin, 1892.)

But the ideas of Orontius were sadly behind the age for the year 1531. More correct notions had begun to prevail about 1510. At that time, somebody made a small copper globe, which is now in the Lenox Library and is commonly known as the Lenox Globe. Of about the same date is a very interesting manuscript map (Fig. 50), which is now in Queen Victoria's library at Windsor Castle and is supposed to have been made by Leonardo da Vinci. Upon this globe and this map America appears as an immense island, not so very unlike Australia in

shape, occupying the position of Brazil and coming a very little north of the equator. Leonardo's map is perhaps the earliest one on which the name "America" occurs. To the north of it come Cuba and the other Antilles, while Florida appears also as an island, and Japan comes a little to the west of it. Here, for the first time, we reach the final step in the discovery of America, which marks it off from the Old World by the recognition of an ocean to the west of it. This result was clearly due to the arrival of Portuguese sailors at the longitude of the Moluccas. It was but a little later, in 1517, that the Portuguese reached the coast of China; and although great mistakes in longitude were then often made, it was impossible not to recognize a huge difference in longitude between the Chinese coast and the regions visited by Columbus and Vespucci. Throughout the sixteenth century, we find maps of the Orontius type and also those of the Leonardo type, but the recognition of North America as a vast and distinct continent steadily grows. In 1580, Sir Francis Drake visited the coast of California; but it was not until the days of Captain Cook, two centuries later, that our northwestern coast was fully explored. It was in 1728 that Vitus Bering discovered the strait which bears his name, and it was in 1792 that Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, in his good ship *Columbia*, sailed into the mighty river which he named after that ship. This may be regarded as the finishing step in the discovery of America, which was inaugurated by Columbus exactly three centuries before.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANIARDS IN THE ANTILLES AND MEXICO.

IT required but a few years to show that, whatever Columbus might have achieved, he had not fulfilled the promise with which he started; he had not shown the best route to the lands of spices and ivory. It was even doubtful until 1521 that he had found any route whatever leading thither; and when in that year the news of Magellan's discoveries was brought to Europe, it became apparent that the route was too long to compete with that which the Portuguese had found by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Within three years from that time, navigators began that search for a northern passage which was not discovered until 1854, and was then shown to be of no practical value. Meanwhile, the Spaniards were making such use as they could of the discoveries which Columbus and his successors had made. As I have already hinted, it is not unlikely that they might have abandoned the West Indies, just as England abandoned the coasts discovered by the Cabots, had it not been that in 1496 rich gold-mines were found on Hispaniola. This, as we have seen, led to the founding of San Domingo; and by 1502, mining interests had become so large that Ovando brought with him to the island some 2500 colonists. In quality they were quite like the crowds that rushed to California and to Australia in the present century—a gathering of the off-scourings of humanity from every clime. The sole object of this Spanish company was to get wealth quickly, by whatever means; consequently, in spite of all that the home government could do, the natives were not only enslaved by hundreds, but treated with such atrocious barbarity as makes the flesh creep to think of. It must be said to the credit of Ferdinand and Isabella that they were conscientiously opposed to slavery. Isabella, in particular, was the most devout of Catholics, and the animus of the Roman church has in all ages been distinctly and strongly opposed to slavery. An exception to this statement may be observed in the attitude of the free Irish laborers of the United States in the present century toward the enslaved negroes. But this attitude, which was determined by prejudices based on economic reasons, was in glaring contrast to the general record of the Catholic Church throughout its long history.

At an early moment the Spanish sovereigns began making rules for the protection of the American aborigines; but such rules were persistently evaded by unsympathetic officials more intent upon gain than upon righteousness, just as the civil service reform rules of to-day are evaded by unrighteous officials, from the President of the United States downward. One of the worst sinners in this respect was the military priest Ovando, a fit lieutenant to the mammon-worshipping Bishop Fonseca. When Ovando arrived in Hispaniola, he found the system there prevailing to be that which the Spaniards called *repartimiento*,

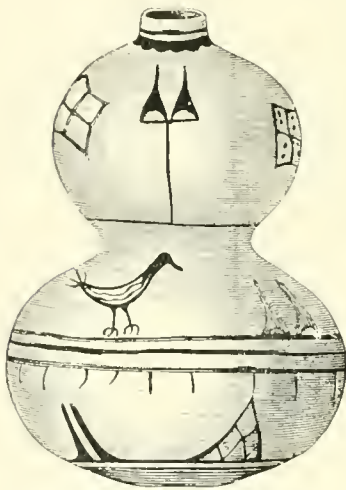


FIG. 51.—San Domingo canteen (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. ii.)

concerning which it is enough to say that it amounted practically to serfdom. The effect of Ovando's measures was to transform this system into that which the Spaniards called *encomienda*, which amounted practically to absolute slavery, like that with which we were lately familiar in our Southern States. The origin of the name deserves a moment's explanation. Ovando took it from the practices of a military order to which he belonged, in which it was customary to entrust the novices to some superior officer for instruction and discipline, whereby their souls might be saved. Now, Ovando was agent for the most Catholic sovereigns, who had received this New World in charge from God's vicegerent on earth; and as such an

agent it was his business to save the souls of the New World's tawny inhabitants. He therefore followed the usage of his order, and recommended the Indians, in companies of from twenty to a thousand or more, to sundry teachers who might instruct them in the mysteries of Christianity. In every deed in which these poor creatures were thus handed over to the tender mercies of some flinty-hearted white man, they were expressly recommended to him for the good of their souls. This recommendation was the *encomienda*; and in practice a more infernal system of hypocrisy never existed upon the earth, for in nearly all cases the teacher of righteousness turned out to be a taskmaster of the most abominable sort. In comparison with the black deeds which they wrought, the story of Legree, in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," becomes a story of tenderness and

love. Indians were tormented until in despair they rose against their masters. Such risings were put down with atrocities such as Mohawks or Apaches could hardly surpass. Ringleaders, to the number of fifty or more, would be burned at the stake or broiled over slow coal-fires; their followers, to the number of some hundreds, would march up in line, and, as they passed a large block, the stump of some fallen tree, both hands would be cut off with a sharp axe, after which they might go about their business. Maiming and mutilation, such as the pen refuses to describe, were matters of common occurrence. Las Casas tells us of one wretch who was torturing half a dozen chiefs with slow



FIG. 52.—Burning of the cacique Hatuey in Cuba. (From Cronau's "Amerika.")

fires, when a captain, who was taking his afternoon siesta in a cabin hard by, called out to him testily to be quick in dispatching those creatures, for their shrieks were disturbing his naps; but this vile sinner, not wishing to lose a jot of his entertainment, only gagged the poor creatures, while he went on enjoying their slow agonies. The book in which Las Casas describes these horrors has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and is surely one of the most horrible books in print. This state of things continued during the administration of Ovando. That mild-mannered but cruel little governor went home in 1509. With all his faults, he had one great

virtue—he was strictly honest ; and with boundless opportunities for enriching himself, he went home a poor man.

Ovando was succeeded by Diego Columbus, son of the great admiral. The Spanish population of the island had now become considerable. There were many plantations, with great and flourishing estates, cultivated by Indians under the lash, while further revenues were derived from the shares which these planters had in the mines. The beginnings of something like a Creole aristocracy were growing up ; and as Diego brought with him his wife, a Spanish princess, something quite like a little court was held at San Domingo. Diego was not a man of commanding intelligence, like his father, his uncle, and his younger brother Ferdinand ; but he was a man of far higher type than Ovando. He was not only honorable and conscientious, but broad-minded and humane. He had not, however, the strength needed for dealing with the horrors of slavery, which had now struck such deep root that it required superhuman force to deal with it. Next year came the heroes who were to begin applying such a superhuman force. These were a dozen Dominican monks, who came in 1510 and began founding a monastery at San Domingo. One of these Dominicans, named Antonio Montesino, soon launched the thunders of the Church against the slave-owners and their practices. The passions thus aroused were as fierce as those which raged in southern Illinois at the time when Lovejoy suffered his glorious martyrdom ; but it was always difficult for any excess of passion to lead the worst of Spaniards to raise his hand against an officer of the Church, and Montesino and his friends were protected by that half-superstitious dread. Complaints against these priests for preaching politics were sent home to King Ferdinand, and meanwhile Montesino obtained the staunchest of allies in the whole history of the Christian Church : a man in whom the tremendous force of Caesar or Cromwell was combined with a divine beauty of character, such as has not been surpassed since Christ walked the streets of Jerusalem. Las Casas had come out in 1502 with Ovando, apparently for the purpose of making money ; he had held slaves himself, and saw nothing wrong in it. He appears always to have treated them with great kindness, while doing all in his power to interfere with the cruelties he saw going on. In 1510, he was ordained as a priest, perhaps by one of the newly arrived Dominicans, and he seems to have been the first Christian clergyman who took holy orders west of the Atlantic. From time to time, he pondered on the atrocities about him and speculated as to the possible means of remedying them, but he was not at first quite an abolitionist ; his career,

like that of Abraham Lincoln, was a development from the lower to the higher plane of thinking on such matters. Las Casas (Fig. 53) was stirred to his depths by the preaching of Montesino; the result was that in 1514 he began his war against slavery by setting free his



FIG. 53. — Las Casas. (From "*Oeuvres de Las Casas*," traduites par Llorente, vol. i., Paris, 1882.)

own Indians. Presently he proceeded to Spain, and there won the support, first of the great Cardinal Ximenes, and afterward of the Emperor Charles V.

From first to last, his work was molested and impeded by Bishop Fonseca; but, in spite of all hindrances and discouragements, Las

Casas persisted until a new system of official inspection for the New World plantations was set on foot—a strong organization, officered according to excellent rules of civil service, carrying with it the tremendous weight of the Spanish church, and with Las Casas himself at its head, bearing the title “Protector of the Indians.” The practical operation of this system soon made such atrocities as those of Ovando’s time impossible. Much still remained to be done, and it was the work of many years. As the Spanish conquests extended over Mexico, Central America, and Peru, we find Las Casas following them in person to one and another of these countries, always fighting against slavery, nipping it in the bud wherever possible, and doing his best to crush it out where once established. His crowning triumph was the passage of the “New Laws for the Indies” in 1542. By these laws, the enslavement of Indians was practically converted into serfdom, while measures of gradual emancipation were in many places set on foot. When we consider how great the evil was in its beginnings, we shall be forced to admit that so great a share of triumph has scarcely ever fallen to the lot of any one man. In no other case, perhaps, has it fallen to the lot of any single reformer. It must, of course, be cordially admitted that, in the course of his career, Las Casas had many important and valuable coadjutors, not only among the Dominicans, of whose order he became a member, but also among the Franciscans, especially in Mexico, where the two orders were able to forget their differences in the zeal of mutual co-operation in the good work. The last position held by Las Casas in the New World was that of Bishop of Chiapas. In 1547 he returned to Spain, and spent the remainder of his life in the Dominican College of San Gregorio at Valladolid, where he died in 1566 at the age of ninety-two. During these last years one of the principal events was his great controversy with Sepúlveda concerning the legitimacy of persecution. Against that learned divine, Las Casas maintained that the only rightful method of bringing sinners into the fold of Christ was by reason and persuasion, and that enforced conversion had no merit in the sight of God. In the course of the controversy, he assumed positions which it is difficult to distinguish from those of such advanced Protestants as Roger Williams and William Penn. Freedom of thought and flexibility of mind appear in all his argumentation, while such was his incomparable skill in presenting a case that he never once gave his enemies an opportunity to bring him within the purview of the vigilant Inquisition. The other event of those years is the writing of that great “History of the Indies,” which is our best first-hand authority for the

course of events in America down to the year 1522. On Las Casas' death he left it in charge of the monks of San Gregorio, and there it remained in manuscript until 1875, when it was published in five large octavos. Now and then some scholar was allowed to consult the manuscript; among these favored persons were Washington Irving and Sir Arthur Helps, both of whom found it of inestimable value.

Of late years, it has come to be recognized that popular notions of history are full of commonplaces which are not true; statements of fact which, as Macanlay would say, must be known to every school-boy, but which, nevertheless, when critically examined, turn out to have in them a penny's-worth of truth to an intolerable deal of falsehood. Among such commonplaces is the familiar assertion that Las Casas introduced negro slavery into the New World, thus robbing the black Peter for the benefit of the red Paul. It is in this neat aphoristic fashion that great reputations can be easily smirched and ruined. The implication is, if Las Casas did free the Indians, what does it amount to, if at the same time he enslaved the blacks? The pennyworth of truth in this current belief is as follows: The business of slave-hunting for the mines was so industriously carried on that it exterminated the native population of Hispaniola, so that it became necessary to catch Indians from other islands and from the mainland, and occasionally cargoes of blacks from Africa were purchased for the same purpose, a practice with the beginnings of which Las Casas was in no way concerned. On one occasion, at a conference in Spain, when his opinion was asked as to the enslavement of negroes, he replied that he thought, if the mines must be worked by slave labor, he considered the negroes physically more capable of enduring the hardships than the Indians were. If this was a recommendation to relieve Indians by substituting negroes, it was surely not acted on; for the beginning of the importation of negroes to America in any large numbers was much later than the time of which we are speaking. The remark of Las Casas is one of those concise statements that are easily remembered and often made to do duty for a much greater edifice of inference than they can really support. But even if we were to allow that Las Casas committed an indiscretion in this case, our view of the matter will not be correct until we have brought one other point into consideration. There can be no question that, by ameliorating the lot of the Indians and changing their slavery to serfdom, Las Casas did more than any other man to check the depopulation of the New World which had begun with such frightful rapidity. Had this depopulation continued to go on, there can be no doubt that slaves would have been

brought from Africa at a much earlier date and in much greater numbers than was actually the case, and all the evils that have since flowed from the presence of a great mass of black men west of the Atlantic would have been enhanced to a degree impossible for us to estimate. Looked at from this point of view, then, it is clear that Las Casas was efficient in checking slavery, whether red or black; so that the commonplace remark about him must go to that limbo where dwell the ghosts of countless historical fallacies.

We may now return to the year 1509, which witnessed the arrival of Diego Columbus as viceroy of the Indies. It was a moment of increased activity in the work of exploration. Two expeditions were sent over to the coasts of Venezuela and Darien. One of them was commanded by the Ojeda who had been captain in the second voyage of Americus; the other was commanded by a certain Diego de Nicuesa. Both these gentlemen were gallant cavaliers and court favorites. Their expeditions were attended with frightful suffering and ended in disaster. With Ojeda went the famous Biscayan pilot La Cosa, who was slain with a poisoned arrow. Ojeda returned, a broken-down man, and died of his hardships. Nicuesa was exposed in a boat, and abandoned by his comrades. The result was that the remnants of the two expeditions were collected on the coast of the isthmus, where they made the beginnings of the town of Santa Maria del Darien. Their commander was a gentleman who had sailed from San Domingo as freight, concealed in a cask, to escape his creditors. The name of this cavalier is Vasco Nuñez de Balboa (Fig. 54), a man superior to his comrades in education and humanity. He was not without his faults, but was surely far better than the average Spanish conqueror. It was in September, 1513, that Balboa conducted an expedition across the isthmus, and from a peak in Darien gazed upon the Pacific Ocean. There he heard rumors of a golden kingdom far to the south; and on returning to the Atlantic coast, he began making preparations for the discovery and invasion of that kingdom. This was the first news of Peru. But, unfortunately for that kingdom and its peoples, this enterprise fell into the hands of a man of much lower plane, intellectually and morally, than Balboa. It happened that a favorite of Fonseca had lately been appointed governor of Terra Firma, as the northern coast of South America had begun to be called. This man was perhaps the worst of all the Spaniards of his day. His name, which has come down to us as that of an incarnate fiend, a man rotten in every fibre with treachery, greed, and cruelty, was Pedrarias

Davila. He stands far below the level of Ovando; for, while the latter permitted cruelty, Pedrarias took an epicure's delight in it; and while Ovando was conscientious according to his poor light, Pedrarias was as destitute of conscience as a crocodile. From the first, Pedrarias cherished a jealousy of Balboa; and after the latter had started upon the enterprise against Peru, this governor, acting upon an ill-founded suspicion, called him back and had him promptly beheaded. It was a singular coincidence that the particular captain who was sent out to



FIG. 54.—Vasco Núñez de Balboa. (From Cronau's "Amerika.")

arrest Balboa should have been one of his old soldiers, a man of whom we shall hear more hereafter—Francisco Pizarro. Some years were yet to elapse before the golden kingdom was to be visited, and meanwhile some of the most astonishing scenes of which history preserves the record were to be witnessed at the north.

In 1511, Diego Columbus sent Velasquez to conquer Cuba. This was done with cruelty enough, though less than that which the sister island had witnessed. After the Spaniards had gained a firm foothold upon Cuba, Velasquez sent out an expedition under Francisco de Cordova to catch slaves on the coast of Honduras. Such work had been made illegal by the Spanish government, and so it was announced that the voyage was for purposes of discovery. This fib turned out to be

not quite so much of a fib as was anticipated. Cordova's pilot was a man who had been with Columbus on his fourth voyage, and he was possessed with a curiosity to go through the Strait of Yucatan and see what could be found to the west of it, for he had conceived the idea that gold was to be found there; so the expedition returned to Cuba for permission and further supplies, and presently started from Havana, which Velasquez had lately built. On reaching the western shores of Yucatan, these Spaniards at length found, as they supposed, what Columbus had so long been searching for in vain. Upon the shores before them, cities arose to their astonished gaze; strange, walled cities, with massive towers and battlements, carved here and there with weird hieroglyphics, serpents' heads, and grotesque faces of unknown gods (Fig. 55). The people, too, were not naked or scantily clothed, like the islanders, but were gaily dressed in quilted doublets, embroidered in brilliant colors and adorned with exquisite featherwork, while they wielded long and formidable lances pointed with obsidian, and carried clubs in which pieces of that same sharp stone were inserted. The disposition of these natives was not friendly, for the first party of Spaniards which landed was caught in an ambush and badly cut up. Going on to Campeche, the Spaniards were invited to come into the town, where, to their horror, they saw huge altars reeking with fresh human blood. Perhaps the natives wished to frighten them with these evidences of human sacrifice and by the sight of their strong fortifications. At the same time they probably dreaded the strangers, for it was with much politeness and the swinging of fragrant incense-burners that the priests approached them and requested them, now that they had seen the place, to return to their ships. They thought it best to comply; and it was well they did so, for a little further along the coast, at a place called Champoton, they were attacked by a large force of the natives and defeated with a loss of more than half their number. The remnant escaped to Cuba, carrying with them some gold, and this circumstance induced the governor to fit out a new expedition.

This was ready in 1518. Its commander was Juan de Grijalva. On reaching Champoton, they attacked and defeated the natives and proceeded to follow the coast westerly as far as San Juan de Ulloa, near the present site of Vera Cruz. In the course of this expedition they stopped at a pueblo called Mictlan-Quauhltla, where a certain Mexican tax-collector came on board one of their ships. His name was Pinotl, and he told them about his master, a great king who lived up in the mountains and whose name was Montezuma. And now that we



FIG. 55.—Statue at Copan. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. i.)

have to bring two remote civilizations together, it is time for us to pause and give some account of this country of Montezuma and its people.

This subject has been encumbered with misconceptions and the story of the conquest of Mexico has often been presented in such a way as to be quite unintelligible. We are asked to believe that a small

force of Spaniards, not exceeding 2000 in number, overran and subdued a mighty empire. In point of fact, nothing of the sort ever happened. To begin with, there was no mighty empire in the Mexican peninsula, nor was there anything which even by the utmost laxity of speech could be termed a Mexican nation. That great peninsula was covered in some parts quite thickly by large and strong pueblos, each of which was the seat of a tribe; and among some groups of these pueblos, there were confederacies analogous to the confederacies of the Creeks, the Leni-Lenape, and the Five Nations among the Indians of the lower status. The state of things was like nothing that had been seen in Europe in any of the ages of which history preserves a record. For a parallel to it, if any such could be found, we should probably need to look into the hidden past which witnessed some of the early formative stages of Egyptian or of Babylonian society, eight or ten thousand years before Christ. It was natural that the Spaniards should have misinterpreted what they saw. When they arrived at a vast communal fortress which was the undivided property of a clan, they supposed it to be a feudal castle; and where they met a distinguished sachem or captain of the clan, they naturally supposed him to be a feudal lord with a host of retainers. Our great historian, Prescott, accepting these accounts without due critical analysis, gave the world a beautiful story which reads like a fairy-tale, and in some points is hardly more substantial. But we have other Spanish authorities, besides the narratives of Cortes and Bernal Diaz and others among the immediate conquerors. These gallant men may indeed be trusted in their accounts of facts actually witnessed, always excepting the numbers of men whom they vanquished in fight, a subject on which old soldiers' memories are apt to see facts through a magnifying glass. The other class of authorities to which I refer are the writings of the noble Franciscan and Dominican friars who came to Mexico soon after the conquest. Among them were men of great learning and trained powers of observation, who devoted their lives not only to converting the natives, but to understanding that strange society. Such men were Sahagun (Fig. 56), Torquemada, Mendieta, Motolinia, and others. These men left upon record a great many facts which they could not fully comprehend; but in these latter days our great scholar, Adolf Bandelier, reading their books in the light of his unrivalled knowledge of Indian life, especially among the Indians of the pueblos, has arrived at conclusions of a very solid and substantial sort. As we come to study the story of the conquest in the light of these brilliant researches, we

shall find it as full of marvellous interest as any of the old accounts, while at the same time it becomes thoroughly intelligible.

First, we may begin by relegating to the realm of fable a great deal of what we have been told concerning the Toltecs and their mighty empire. Dr. Daniel Brinton, one of our foremost Americanists, is of the opinion that there never were any Toltecs at all, unless perhaps some single tribe no more important than other tribes. But into that question we need not enter. For the purposes of our story, these



FIG. 56. Sahagun. (From Cumplido's Mexican edition of Prescott's "Mexico.")

Toltecs are certainly not needed. Nor shall we undertake to say whence came the people of the Aztec confederacy, who for a time lorded it over many Mexican pueblos. It is enough to say that at the earliest date at which history can be said to know them, we find them already settled on the high tableland of Anahuac, where their great city stands to-day. It seems to have been in the year 1325 that they built the city, which in their own speech they called Tenochtitlan, or City of the Cactus-Rock. The legend is that a party of Aztecs, retreating before a pursuing enemy until they entered certain spacious marshes, found there a sacrificial stone, from a crevice in which there grew a cactus on

which an eagle sat, holding in its beak a serpent. This symbolism was interpreted as a presage of a victorious career, and at the same time there came a message from Tlaloc, the god of waters, telling them to build their pueblo upon that spot. This was done, while by dint of sluices and dams the marsh was converted into a lake, crossed only by a narrow causeway; thus making a fortress that was practically impregnable. Near the lake and on opposite shores of it, the rivals of the Aztecs were the two pueblos of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, while at somewhat greater distance stood the pueblo of Azcapotzalco, which was the terror of all. After sundry vicissitudes, the Aztecs formed an alliance with the Tezcuicans, and together they overcame Azcapotzalco, butchered half its people, and moved the remainder to Tlacopan, which they



FIG. 57. — Mexican pictograph. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. i.)

proceeded to adopt into their confederacy. The league now consisted of the three pueblos—Tenochtitlan, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan—and the position of the latter was such as to control the supply of good drinking-water from the neighboring hill of Chapultepec. Nothing in that primitive society can be imagined more formidable for aggression or less vulnerable in defence than such a league as this. When the situation was fully developed, three causeways crossed the lake: one leading from the central city of Tezcuco, the second to Tlacopan, while the third connected with trails leading down to the coast near the site of Vera Cruz. Thus each one of the members of the league could easily

reinforce the others, while their canoes held the lake in complete control. It was natural that such a league should improve its organization by electing a head war-chief to control the military forces of the three pueblos. This personage was the head war-chief of Tenochtitlan, which was thus recognized as the senior member of the triple league. His official title was *tlaca-tecutli*, or chief of men, practically the same title which is given to Agamemnon in the Homeric poems. The first of these chiefs of men was Acamapichtli, elected in 1375. From that time until the end, although this office was strictly elective, it remained in a certain sense hereditary in that man's family, for it was always some member of that family that was chosen: either a son or nephew or brother of the preceding chief. The case was originally just the same with the kings of mediaeval Europe. Teutonic kingships did not become hereditary until the feudal system had become firmly established. This Aztec chief of men was elected by the tribal council, which consisted of twenty members, each representing a clan. It will be observed that this was a large number of clans for a single tribe. Among the Algonquins and Iroquois, there were seldom more than three or four clans in a tribe. The difference is connected with the far greater growth of the Aztec tribe. In their well-defended position, they were able to control means of sustenance on such a scale that they could keep the tribe together; whereas among Indians of the lower status, such an increase would necessarily have led to segmentation and diffusion over a somewhat wide area. Tribes in which agriculture and trade play a small part are unable to grow to a large size or to live compactly. A comparison of our various sources of information does not make it probable that each one of these twenty Aztec clans dwelt within a single pueblo-fortress. On the other hand, each clan seems to have occupied a group of such fortresses built in close contiguity. Each clan had its own totem and sacrificial rites. The great houses which it occupied were communal property, and no such thing was known as private ownership of real estate in any form. Each clan was governed by a clan-council of elected chiefs, and it had two executive heads: one corresponding to the sachem, the other to the war-chief among Indians of the lower status. These officers were elected by the clan-council and might be deposed by it.

The twenty clans were grouped in four phratries, and a conspicuous effect was to divide the city of Mexico into four quarters or precincts. The phratry was an organization for the administration of justice, and it had also a military chief, who took command over the clan-chiefs of his

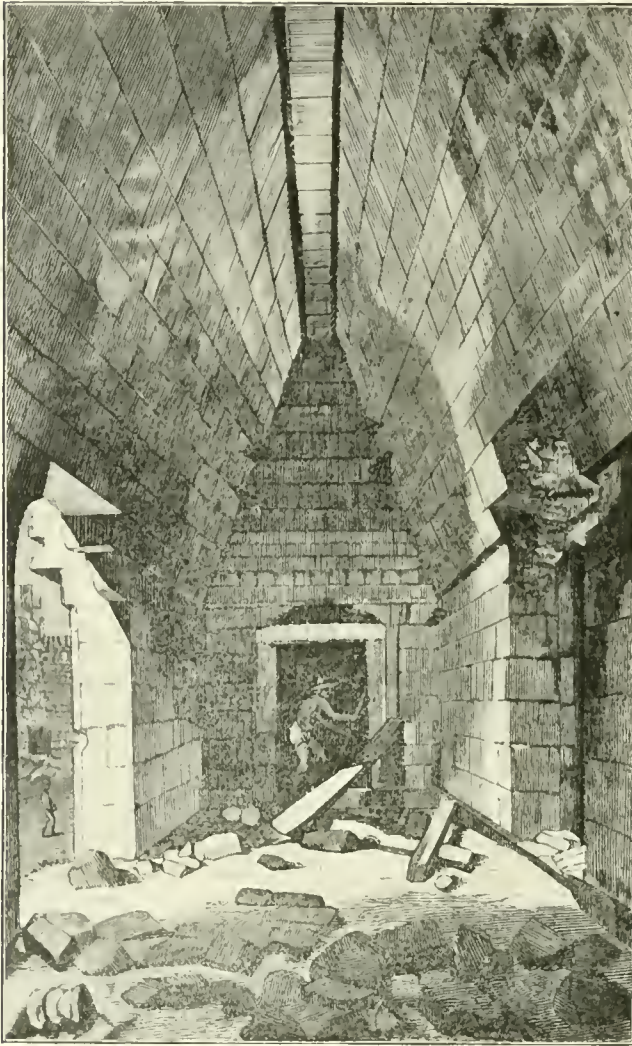


FIG. 58.—Section of room in so-called House of the Nuns, at Uxmal. (Morgan's "Houses of American Aborigines.")

phratry and was a kind of lieutenant to the chief of men. He was also custodian of the arsenal, where were kept great stores of bows and arrows, stone-pointed lances and darts, and war-clubs armed with obsidian—a kind of further development of the tomahawk. There were thus four of these arsenals, one in each of the four precincts.

The supreme authority over the tribe—that is to say, over the whole city—was vested in the tribal council, which was called *tlatoacan*, a word

which exactly translates the English word parliament, which means primarily a talking, and hence an assembly for the purpose of talking. The sessions of the tribal council were held at least once in ten days, but might be summoned on any occasion by the chief of men. The place where it met was the *tecpán*, or official house of the Aztec tribe.

Besides the chief of men, the tribe had another executive head or kind of sagem, who was known by a grotesque title—the *cihua-coatl*, or snake-woman. The meaning of this title is obscure. We can only say that the wife of the war-god Tezeatlípoca was called snake-woman, and the hieroglyphic emblem of the executive officer of whom we are



FIG. 59. — Huitzilopochtli. (From Cronau's "Amerika.")

speaking was a female head encompassed by a snake. The emblem and the title must, of course, have a religious significance, not yet fully explained. The snake-woman executed the civil decrees of the council, and he was responsible for the receipt and proper distribution of tribute; in other words, we might call him the chief collector and treasurer of the tribe. He was also chief justice. This officer, as well as the chief of men, was elected by the tribal council, and both could be deposed by it for adequate cause. Now, if we consider this tribal council as a kind of upper house, it happened curiously enough that there were occasional meetings upon a somewhat wider scale, not at all corresponding to a

house of commons, but still showing an increased breadth of representation. About four times in the year, there was a special meeting of the council, assisted by the twenty clan-chiefs, the four phratry-chiefs, and a delegation from the priesthood. This enlarged body might petition, and even signify its will by voting; but that decision was not final, in case it should be overridden by the vote of the council itself, at one of its regular sessions. In short, there was no appeal from a vote of the tribal council.

We have spoken of the priests. One of the most conspicuous differences between the middle status of barbarism and the lower was the development of a distinct priesthood. Corresponding to this, we find among the Aztecs a mythology far more developed and elaborate than that of the lower status. Tezcatlipoca is a far more definite and substantial character than the Manabozho, or Great Spirit of the Shawnee or Ottawa. The Mexican deities are represented in carvings upon stone; they were invoked with elaborate prayers and hymns; and in the city of Mexico, as in every other pueblo of that country, the most conspicuous and hideous objects were the lofty pyramidal temples. There were several of these, dedicated to those horrible divinities, Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli (Fig. 59), black-hearted deities ravening for human blood. The worship of the Mexicans was chiefly paid to these dark powers, doubtless on the principle which travelers have more than once heard expressed by barbarous races: that it is prudent to propitiate the devil, while the powers that are naturally good do not require so much attention. Human sacrifice (Fig. 60) was practised in Mexico on a far greater scale than is elsewhere known to history, except perhaps in Ashantee. The victim was usually led in a solemn procession of priests, which wound up the tall pyramid on staircases and balconies that led round about it until the summit was reached, where the sacrifice might be witnessed by the whole community from the low roofs of their communal houses. The victim, bedecked as if for a gala-day, was laid upon his back across the sacrificial stone in such a way that while the head fell back, the breast was forced slightly upward, whereupon the long-haired, ghoul-like priest, with a single plunge of his knife of sharp obsidian, laid bare the heart, and, reaching in his left hand, pulled it forth and burned it as an offering to the war-god. Near by stood a little temple or shrine, in which were reared snakes, the war-god's symbols. Some of the victim's blood was rubbed about the mouths of these snakes. Bowls of it were carried away, with which to smear the jambs and lintels of the communal houses. As for

the victim's body, after the heart was removed, it was cleared of its entrails, cut up into steaks and chops, and broiled or stewed in the saucepans of the communal kitchen, furnishing perhaps the most appetizing part of the communal dinner; for all cannibals seem to regard the flesh of their fellow-creatures as the daintiest of food. All the tribes of Mexico and Central America seem to have been as thorough-paced cannibals as the Fiji Islanders when first visited by Europeans.

A pleasanter theme claims our attention as we come to the great communal houses lately mentioned. They were built in some instances of adobe; but the better sort were of stones laid without cement, and covered over with a coating of white gypsum. They do not seem to have been more than two stories in height; and the low, flat roofs were



FIG. 60.—Human sacrifice. (From Cronau's "Amerika.")

surmounted with flower-gardens, of which the Aztecs seem to have been passionately fond, if we may judge from the fragments of their poetry that have been preserved. The passages between these houses were sometimes narrow footpaths paved with a kind of concrete cement, and sometimes canals on which canoes plied to and fro, like gondolas in Venice. The narrow streets often crossed the canals on wooden draw-bridges which could be pulled up at a moment's notice. There may have been, in all, three hundred of the communal dwellings, with an average population of 200, thus making a city of 60,000 inhabitants. The outsides of the great white buildings were decorated with carved figures of serpents and deities with human faces, along with curious hieroglyphics; and of the general effect we can doubtless get a fair idea

from the still existing ruins of Yucatan. In the centre of the city, where the causeways met, was an open square or market-place, where more or less traffic was carried on in divers booths and shops; thither came canoes laden with the harvest of the great cornfields bordering the lake. There was much more manufacturing than among the Indians of the lower status, although the Aztecs were still in the stone age. They were acquainted to some extent with copper, but flint and obsidian were

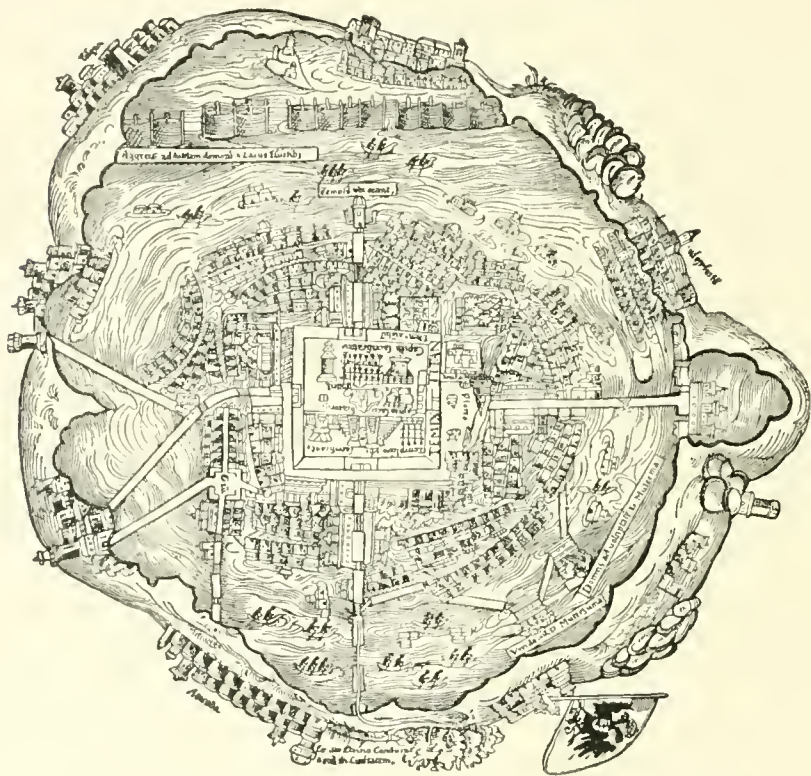


FIG. 61. Plan of the city of Tenochtitlan, Mexico. (From Cronau's "Amerika.")

in almost universal use for weapons and tools. Among the most characteristic manufactures were the articles made with feathers; the work of this description is usually very gorgeous and sometimes quite artistic. Tables and stools were not unknown, but people usually sat upon mats on the floor. The windows were narrow slits, like the loopholes of a European castle; and the doorways were closed only with portières, for the Aztec mind had not arisen to the conception of a hinge. The outer doors could be strongly barricaded, and were generally guarded by

turrets conveniently placed on the roof, from which darts might be showered upon an approaching foe.

The dress of the people was notably different from that of the Indians of the lower status; it was usually made of woven cotton, which implies a certain development in domestic manufactures. The men wore quilted cotton doublets, sometimes surmounted with long cloaks; the women were dressed in flowing robes reaching to the ground. The feet were covered with sandals suited to the mild climate, as the moccasins of the Algonquin were suited to his severe winters. For cold weather, cloaks made of gorgeous featherwork or of the furs of wolves or ocelots were worn. The taste was still barbarous enough to admire painted faces, for which pigments of red and yellow were used; and the rich cochineal dye which the Mexicans had in plenty was used not only for imparting its rich scarlet to their robes, but also to their teeth. Gold and silver rings for ear and nose, as well as bangles and anklets, were worn by both sexes; and the more ornaments of such sorts an Aztec could accumulate upon his person, the better he was pleased.

Kinship among the Aztecs was reckoned through the father, and the marriage-bond was much more rigid than in the lower status. Among many tribes of North America marriage was practically dissoluble by mutual consent. Sometimes, but not always, it was necessary to obtain the approval of the clan, which may be regarded as the incipient form of a divorce proceeding. In Mexico divorce required greater formality and the obstacles to it were much increased. Along with this tightening of the marriage-tie we find, as usual in early society, an increase in personal and heritable property; though the Mexicans had no conception of real property, yet the amount of personal property which an individual could obtain was quite considerable. At the same time we come upon another closely connected point of difference between the middle and the lower status: In the latter, as we have seen, captives were not enslaved, but either tortured to death or else adopted into the tribe on terms of equality. In Mexico, on the other hand, captives were seldom put to death, except as human sacrifices; but after the needs of the bloodthirsty god had been satisfied the remainder were enslaved. It is probable that the cultivation of the extensive cornfields was mostly conducted by such slaves. The ranks of the slaves could also be increased by such persons as were expelled from their clans for gross misdemeanors. Here we come to the fact that, in the administration of justice, there was an advance on the lower status. It was no longer

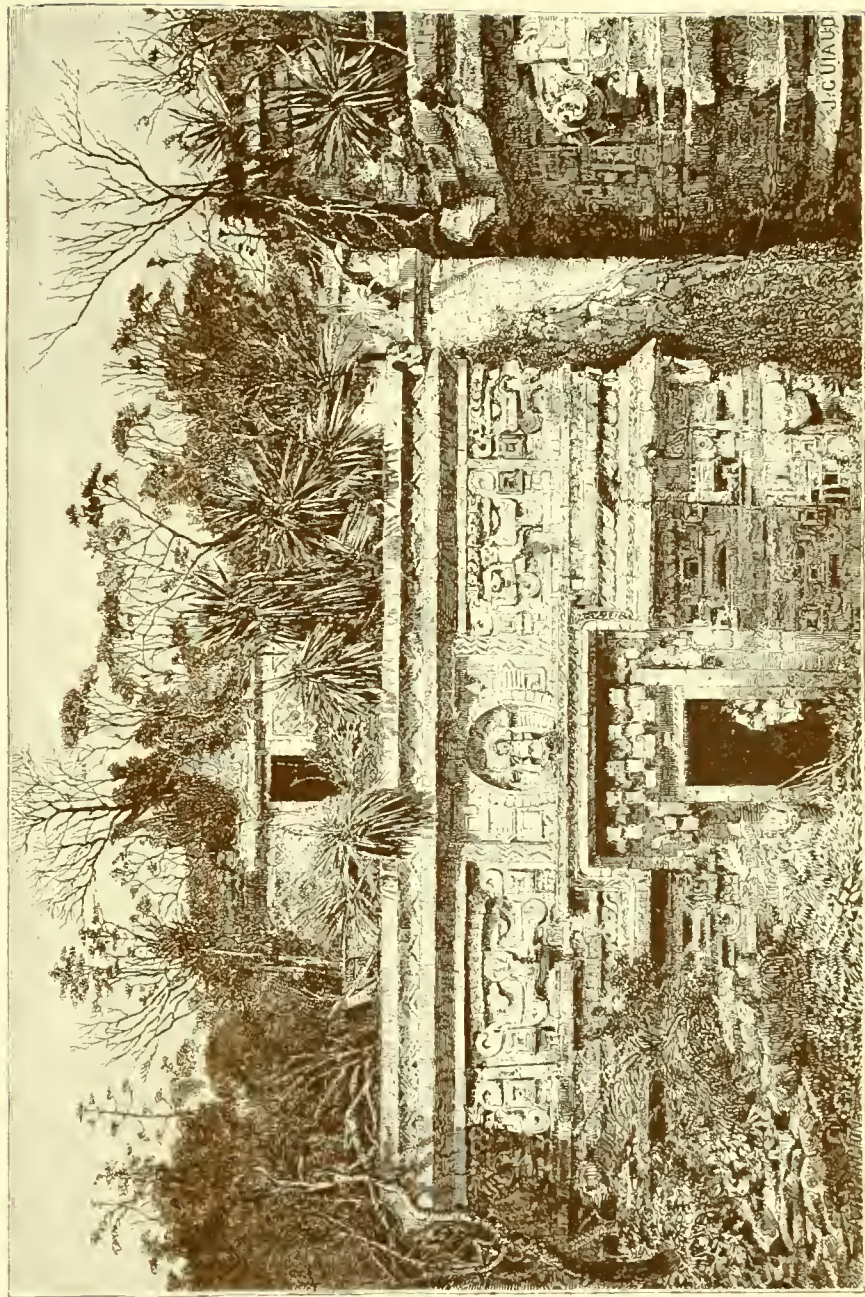
possible to compound for homicide and other grave offences by a wergild or other form of pecuniary satisfaction, but the death penalty and imprisonment were not infrequently inflicted. In other words, the criminal class was beginning to be more sharply demarcated from the orderly portion of the community.

The head of the administration of justice was the official called the snake-woman, the colleague of the chief of men. We are thus enabled to see that, in point of kingship, Montezuma had advanced one stage beyond the head war-chief of an Algonquin tribe. A comparative survey



FIG. 62. Carved inscription at Palenque. (Stephens' "Central America and Yucatan," vol. ii.)

of rulership in all times and countries seems to show that it has been acquired through a succession of five or six steps: (1) The ruler is simply an elective head war-chief; but even in this stage custom often confines the election to the limits of a single important family. (2) To the functions of military commander the ruler adds those of chief priest; this is because of the imperative necessity of consulting the omens during military operations, in order to avoid calamity. (3) The ruler, having by his priestly function acquired an immense increase of authority, becomes able to acquire the judicial function; as a chief priest, it is



Ancient Facade at Chichen-Itza.
From Charnay, "Ancient Cities of the New World."

easy for him to do this, since the dieta of a judge were, in early society, supposed to be inspired from above. (4) To these other functions he adds that of chief civil executive, appointing officials and carrying out the decrees of the legislative body. (5) The next step is to usurp the functions of the legislative body and seize upon the power to make laws and impose taxes; when this stage is reached we have a despotism like that of ancient Assyria and Persia. (6) Under the feudal system which grew up in the Middle Ages the king came to be regarded as chief landlord, or proprietor of the national territory; and all his subjects were, in one degree or another, his tenants. This stage was often reached in free countries where the fifth step was never taken, where legislative functions were never usurped. Mediaeval European kings, indeed, were to a great extent obliged to part with the priestly function, since this was absorbed by the great dominating Roman hierarchy. We see it reappearing in the statutes of Edward I. and Edward III. against *praemunire*, and at last in the bold revolt which proclaimed Henry VIII. as supreme head of the English church.

At the time of the Spanish conquest of Mexico the ruler had reached the second stage in the route toward kingship: he was chief commander and chief priest, points which we shall presently see to have been of cardinal importance in the history of the conquest.

Such was, in brief outline, the general state of society in the pueblo of Tenochtitlan, and it was probably very much the same throughout the whole peninsula as far back as the Isthmus of Darien, except that some fifty or sixty of these pueblo-towns had become tributary to the triple tyrant on the Lake of Anahuac. In the city of Mexico, with its confederates, Tezcuco and Tlacopan, the people were lords and conquerors. In the fifty or sixty places of which we have just spoken, they were oppressed subjects, longing to recover their freedom. Little had been done toward making a Mexican nation. The three confederate pueblos simply extorted tribute from their fifty subject towns, just as the five confederate Iroquois tribes extorted it from their vassal tribes in all directions. If a Mohegan or a Raritan was remiss in payment of tribute, the Mohawk came down, burned his village, slaughtered his people, and carried off enough weapons and wampum to defray the expense of the war. So, if such a town as Texotla was remiss in paying its tribute, the warriors of Tenochtitlan or Tezcuco would swoop down upon it, and, after much slaughter, carry away as much Texotlan property as suited its needs. The tribute was usually corn or weapons or human captives. Thus, besides the maize which it raised in its own

fields, and besides the weapons which it wrought in its own shops, the confederacy drew at its own sweet will upon the fields and shops of its vassals. The captives were either designed for slaves or for victims of



FIG. 63.—Bas-relief at Palenque. (Stephens' "Central America and Yucatan," vol. ii.)

sacrifice. Part of the object of the confederacy in extending its sway over more and more pueblo-towns was to obtain more and more victims for the war-god, and thus spare its own population.

It will be easy for the reader to realize how, in such a state of

things, the vassal pueblos would be likely to hail the arrival of any foreign force that was likely to set them free. We can already begin to see that it was far from being an organized empire that was overthrown by a handful of Spaniards. The question here arises, how far the Mexican population acquiesced in their horrible system of human sacrifice. The details of it must have pressed with frightful harshness upon every one of these small communities. Victims by the score were sacrificed, not only on the regular festal days of the recurring seasons, days of which there were very many in the calendar; but on special occasions, whether of victory or defeat, whether on days of thanksgiving or of mourning, the hideous deities must be propitiated by fresh victims. It is impossible that such horrors can have been endured with pleasure. Supported by public opinion the system undoubtedly was; otherwise it could not have endured so long. The system had a logical basis in the superstitions which encumbered the Mexican mind, yet the revolt of the human soul against it is shown in a group of pathetic legends concerning the Deliverer, who the Mexican people were taught to expect would some day arrive among them. This deliverer was Quetzalcohuatl, in recent days known to literature as the Fair God. He was the eternal enemy of the dark Tezcatlipoca, and the strife between them is depicted in many quaint stories, often as homely as the fire-side tales of Grimm or Asbjornsen, but often fraught with meaning as deep and mournful as one can find in any chapters of the *Zendavesta*, describing the warfare between the good and evil principles at work in the universe. In this warfare of giants, at some epoch in the dim past, Quetzalcohuatl was defeated and obliged to depart from Mexico. This idea corresponds to the Eastern conception of the loss of the primitive Paradise. For many ages, the evil principle, be it Satan or Tezcatlipoca, is the prince of the powers of the air and has kingdoms and thrones at his disposal. To save ourselves from his infinite malice, we must sacrifice to him countless human lives; but that will not be for always: there will come a time when Quetzalcohuatl, with his fair hair and his face renewed in youthfulness, will return to Mexico; he will come from the east, arising from the sea, and at his coming will throw down the altars of Tezcatlipoca, cleanse the sacrificial pyramids, and put an end to human sacrifice.

Under these circumstances we can well understand the excitement which must have thrilled through every pueblo, from the coast up into the high mountains, at the news which the collector Pinotl brought from Mietlan-Quauhtla on that bright day in 1518, when he boarded Grijalva's

fleet. His description of the ships is significant. They were great wooden towers floating upon the sea and stretching forth immense white wings. They were peopled with men of fair skin and long fair hair, who said that they were the subjects of a mighty king over beyond the great waters on the eastern horizon. Here, with regard to Spaniards' complexion, it should be observed that the point of view is that of an Indian with cinnamon skin and jet-black hair, to whom the Spaniard, even with



FIG. 64.—Hernando Cortes. (From an engraving by Masson, after a painting in the gallery at Salamanca. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

olive skin and hair of darkest brown, would seem comparatively fair. Nor should it be forgotten that there is much Gothic blood among Spaniards, which shows itself not infrequently in blue eyes and auburn or golden hair. We know there were many such among the conquerors of Mexico. One of the captains, Alvarado, was commonly called "Sun-Face" by the Mexicans, on account of his shaggy yellow locks and rosy skin. We need not wonder that these visitors were supposed to be the

people of Quetzalcohuatl, the glowing solar hero beyond the eastern waters. It is now time for us to return to Cuba and trace the consequences of Grijalva's adventure.

Some difficulty broke out between that youthful captain and his kinsman, the governor Velasquez, so that a new commander was selected for the next expedition. This was a man thirty-four years of age, named Hernando Cortes (Fig. 64). He had already given proofs of extraordinary capacity, and toward the end of the year 1518 he was put in command of some 450 men, with half a dozen cannon and fifteen horses, which armament he took over in several small ships to Tabasco. Thence he proceeded to a point near the site of Vera Cruz, where he obtained such tidings of the feeling of the vassal pueblos toward the tyrant in the mountains that he formed a bold resolution. It is hardly possible that he can have come so soon after Grijalva, amid the general excitement which that visit had caused, and not have heard something about the expectation of the coming of Quetzalcohuatl. His quick mind must have discerned some of the advantages which could be derived from that situation. Even as it was, his action was so bold that it has ever since been quoted as one of the world's great instances of desperate resolution. He persuaded his men to destroy their ships, thus cutting off all means of retreat, and relying for salvation upon their own stout hearts, the terror with which they inspired the people, and the vast treasure which they expected to gain.

Besides such hints as he must have obtained concerning the newly aroused hopes of the Mexicans, he had abundant occasion to observe the terror and awe with which the Spaniards inspired them. It was not only their strange complexions which made them seem god-like, but there were the coats of mail, which nothing could penetrate; there were the long lances, with points of glittering steel, which could penetrate anything; and last, not least, there were the terrible monsters upon which their chiefs rode. At first, the Mexicans, seeing the horse and his rider both clad in armor (Fig. 65), supposed that they formed but a single creature, like the centaurs of antiquity. And it is certain that for several months they kept up this terror, fleeing before the horse and his rider, as they would run from a fiery dragon. Besides all this, there were the cannon, with their throats of thunder and their lightning-flashes, dealing death at incredible distances. On many occasions the priests came kneeling before Cortes and his soldiers, offering them corn-cakes soaked in the blood of human victims; and when these offerings were

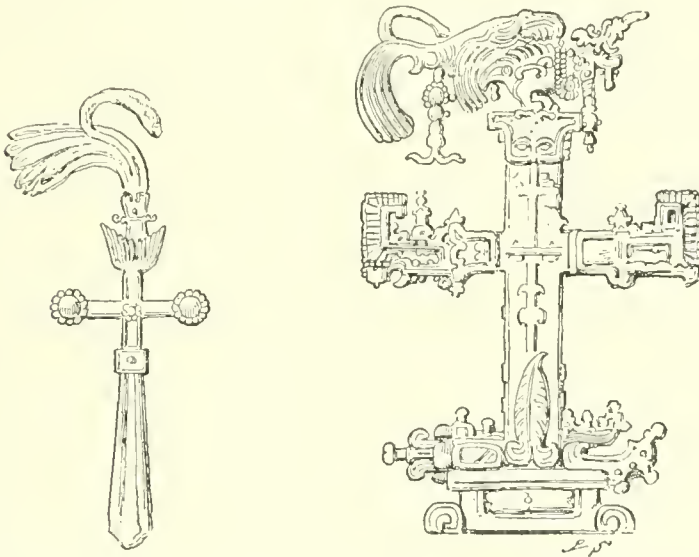


FIG. 65. Spaniard and horse in armor.

refused with scorn, how could the Mexican help interpreting it as the conduct of Quetzalcohuatl's men, who were to put an end to human sacrifice? It is clear that Cortes must have seen even more below the surface than his letters inform us; for at his first landing at Tabasco, he had fallen in with a young Mexican woman named Marina or Malina, who remained his companion for many years, taught him to be fluent in

the Mexican language, which he seems to have acquired rapidly, and on more than one occasion revealed to him secret plots which even his ingenuity could hardly otherwise have unravelled. Even with all these means of information, nothing but genius of a high order could have put the information to such use as this wonderful man did.

Without some such information the act of consummate boldness which he performed at Cempoala would have been merely foolhardy. He released all the victims caged for sacrifice, cleansed the pyramids, and broke to pieces the sacrificial stones, in place of which he set up the cross (Figs. 66 and 67), which, by the weirdest of all the coincidences



FIGS. 66 and 67.—Ancient Mexican crosses. (Charnay, "Ancient Cities of the New World.")

in this strange story, happened to be one of the symbols of the Fair God. At the same time, profiting by past experience in Cuba, he seized the person of the principal *Tecuhli* or chief, thus paralyzing the people, who were bereft of the proper means of taking the auspices. We need not be surprised that his boldness was successful. After leaving Cempoala the little army of Spaniards proceeded on its march into the interior, finding no difficulty in respect of means of subsistence, for at every pueblo which they passed, the people, through mingled motives of terror and hope, were quite willing to entertain them; and thus they were well regaled upon dishes of hot tamale and horns of the flowing pulque, a kind of beer made from the century-plant.

We have now to observe a second important factor in the conquest of Mexico. On the great plain of Anahuac, about half-way between the site of Vera Cruz and the city of Mexico, stood a small confederacy of pueblos, of which the chief was Tlascala. These pueblos were not subject to the confederacy on the lake. On the contrary, the Aztecs and their allies had never been able to subdue the Tlascalans. The latter confederacy had always scornfully refused to pay tribute to the confederacy, and all the efforts of the Aztecs had been unable to defeat them. Obviously, if Cortes could obtain the Tlascalans as allies, it would be a long step toward success. Here were two really antagonistic Mexican powers not unequally matched. By throwing his force in favor of the weaker, which was not so very much the weaker, he might surely hope to overcome the stronger. As for the Tlascalans themselves, they were in doubt as to whether the fair-skinned visitors were

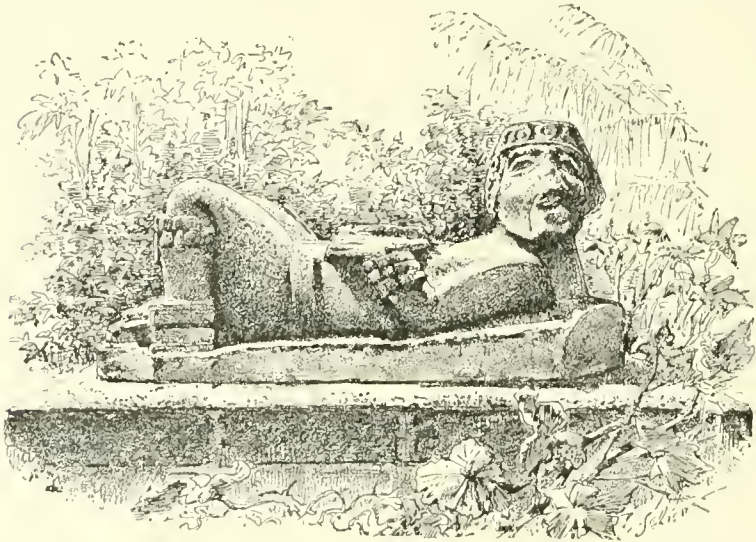


FIG. 68.—Statue of Tlaloc from Tlascala. (Charnay, "Ancient Cities of the New World.")

really gods or only a new kind of men. Both views were maintained in the tribal council, and it was decided first to try the experiment of a battle; so a large force of warriors, outnumbering the Spaniards at least tenfold, proceeded to attack and worry them for a couple of days. At the end of that time a great many Tlascalans had been slaughtered, while the Spaniards had lost two or three men, whom they secretly buried. It was therefore concluded that the visitors were immortal.

Here a further hypothesis was imagined by the Tlascalans. Since the newcomers were the Fair God's subjects, perhaps their strength might last only during the daytime; perhaps an attack by night, while the dark Tezcatlipocā was guiding events, would result in a victory for his worshippers. So they sent an embassy to Cortes, intending to beguile him with discussion while a night attack was prepared. Whether it was the behavior of these envoys that aroused the suspicion of Cortes,



FIG. 69. - Montezuma. (Prescott's "Mexico.")

or whether some hints of the situation may have reached him through Marina, at all events he promptly charged the envoys with treachery, and, cutting off their thumbs, sent them back to their pueblo with this evidence of his superhuman knowledge. He instantly followed up this message by a night attack upon an outlying party of Tlascalans, whom he cut to pieces without mercy. This was decisive. The priests of the dark god, who had advised the night attack, were cooked and

eaten. It was decided that an alliance must be made with the resistless strangers; and from this time forth that alliance was never broken. The first effect was to increase Cortes' army by several hundred valiant allies from the Tlascalan confederacy. His next exploit was at Cholula, where a conspiracy for entrapping him was discovered and punished with heavy slaughter. The next step was to enter the great Tenochtitlan, the city of Mexico itself, and this was easily accomplished; for while there were two parties there, as in other pueblos, one advocating resistance, the other submission, it happened that the chief of men (Fig. 69), Montezuma, belonged to the latter. He invited the Spaniards with their tawny allies into the city, and assigned to them for their accommodation a large building which had in former times been used as the *teepan*, or tribal council-house. It was thus easy to get into the great city; but how to get out might prove more difficult, and it would be the height of imprudence to stay there without performing some act of supreme authority. Cortes understood that with fair gods, as with other acquaintances, familiarity breeds contempt. If he were to reap the advantage which superstition had prepared for him, he must comport himself as master, and this he proceeded to do. One of Montezuma's tax-collectors at a pueblo on the coast had got into a quarrel, in which one or two Spaniards were killed. News of this was brought to Cortes, and formed the occasion of his bold stroke. He told Montezuma that the matter must be investigated, and, until this should have been done, he must come with him and abide in the Spaniards' quarters. The reluctant chief felt it necessary to comply with this bold request; so Cortes took him home to his *teepan* and there convened the sessions of the tribal council, so that he controlled the government of the pueblo through its ordinary machinery. He also held in custody Montezuma's brother, Cuiclahuatzin, whose importance he does not seem to have realized, and also the head chiefs of Tlacopan and Tezcuco. Having thus deprived the three great pueblos of the power of taking auspices, thus paralyzing their means of action, Cortes proceeded to act the part of the Fair God by abolishing human sacrifices and cleansing the temples. Acting, however, under judicious priestly advice, he contented himself at first with purifying some of the temples, while he allowed the others for a while to go on with their accustomed work.

How long this strange situation might have lasted we cannot tell. It was in November, 1519, that the seizure of Montezuma took place. In the following April incidents occurred which put a new face upon

things. Cortes learned that a force of 1200 Spaniards, sent by the governor of Cuba to arrest him, had arrived at San Juan de Ulloa. Velasquez, indeed, had reason to feel incensed with the independent way in which Cortes had gone off to operate for his own behoof, quite ignoring the authority of his superior. On hearing this news Cortes



FIG. 70.—Tizimuc's stone, Mexico. (Charnay, "Ancient Cities of the New World.")

took 300 men and hastened to the coast, leaving in his place Alvarado with 150 men to maintain control of Tenochtitlan. It mattered little that the force which had come to arrest him was four times as great as his own. He first surprised and defeated them, and then told them the enchanting story of the wealth of Tenochtitlan. Result: He marched back to that pueblo at the head of 1500 Spaniards instead of 300, with a proportionate equipment of horses and cannon. But during his brief

absence a dire calamity had occurred. Alvarado's little band were in a situation so full of danger that it required the miraculous coolness of a man like Cortes to cope with it. Scared by the scowls of the dusky faces in the pueblo, the soldiers began giving credit to rumors that there was a conspiracy to destroy them. Alvarado thereupon quite lost his head, and illustrated the difference between intelligent boldness and dull rashness. In the month of May the Aztecs were accustomed to have a great festival, in which the return of summer was celebrated in the usual way by human sacrifice. Alvarado thought it best to be the first one to strike, and so chose this occasion for massaering a large number of the clan-chiefs. Still the Aztecs made no effective counter-attack, for their first movements were checked by their priest-commander, Montezuma, who appeared upon the roof of the Spanish teepee and commanded them to be quiet. Several days of sullen calm ensued, during which the markets were closed and most of the drawbridges raised ; and so it was when Cortes entered the city with his enlarged force. It was too late to scold Alvarado ; something must be done to feed more than 1600 Spaniards, and the stores of corn in their teepee were running low. Cortes therefore committed the one great mistake of his life. He couldn't be expected to have mastered all the intricacies of life in the middle status of barbarism. Very likely he did not know that Cuiclahuatzin was the next in line of succession to Montezuma ; but he did know that he was a man of authority, and therefore sent him out with orders to open the granaries and get corn for the Spanish teepee.

Now, it has been said that Cuiclahuatzin had always belonged to the party which counselled resistance. However that may have been, the tribal council now knew what to do. Up to this moment its action had been paralyzed, since it had no precedent to guide it ; but now its course was obvious. It instantly held a meeting, at which Montezuma was deposed from his office of chief of men or priest-commander, and Cuiclahuatzin was elected in his place. The consequences were swift and startling. The social machinery of the great pueblo was once more in gear, so that its military power could be exerted. There was a great uprising of the people, and the 1600 Spaniards, with their Tlascalan allies, were hotly besieged in their strongly fortified teepee by a countless host of screaming barbarians. It was natural that Cortes should have now caused Montezuma to appear on the roof and assert his authority, but alas for the poor deposed chief ! that authority had vanished. He was now only a common man, and his orders were answered by a shower of stones and darts, under

which he was quickly struck down and soon died. Terrible fighting ensued, in which the mortality of Spaniards was abundantly illustrated. Among the American aborigines, there were no warriors braver or more ferocious than the Aztecs. Nevertheless, the advantage of the Spaniards in armor and weapons prevailed; and after a murderous struggle, they stormed the great pyramid, from which they could direct a deadly fire upon the people below. It was impossible, however, to remain



FIGS. 71 and 72.—Door-posts at Chichen-Itza. (Charnay, "Ancient Cities of the New World.")

within the pueblo, for the enemy were quite capable of blockading them. Cortes therefore made preparations for a retreat by night. His purpose was evidently detected or betrayed, for the crowds of dusky warriors soon melted away, and the streets of the pueblo were left silent, while the Spaniards marched out unopposed over the causeway leading to Tlacopan, a force of 1250 Spaniards, 6000 Tlascalans, and 80 horses. The three drawbridges of the causeway had been not merely raised, but removed. This was but a trifling hindrance to the Spaniards, who well understood how to extemporize a bridge; but while they were passing

over the first, the Indians in their canoes came upon them from every quarter. A terrible night it was, and feats of valor were performed such as one reads of only in mediæval romance. We are told that yellow-haired Alvarado, finding himself bested at one of the bridge-ways, fixed the point of his lance in the ground, and cleared the broad chasm at a single bound. From that day to this do Spaniards talk of "The Melancholy Night." The horror of it may best be expressed in figures. In the morning, the force which had succeeded in crossing consisted of about 500 Spaniards, 2000 Tascalans, and 20 horses. Not a cannon was saved; and Cortes shuddered at the thought that many of his brave men had been carried back to the temples, to be fattened for the altar and the cannibal banquet. It appears that there were about forty such victims.



FIG. 73.—Medallion portrait of Cortes.

Under any conditions, however, his escape was fatal to the Aztecs; for this long-headed commander had still plenty of resources, and was never again to be caught in such a trap. A few days afterward the barbarians played into his hands by attacking him with vast numbers in the valley of Otumba. Here he won a decisive victory, which went far to re-establish among all the pueblos his somewhat shaken reputation. During the summer and autumn of 1520 his measures were concerted with consummate skill. He made a report to Cuba which succeeded in bringing him a reinforcement of highly disciplined Spanish soldiers, well equipped with artillery and horses; and going about among the pueblos, or sending emissaries in whom he could trust, he succeeded in persuading many of them to raise the banner of resistance against their old tyrants. In the course of the

following winter he made a master-stroke. A dispute had arisen between Cuītlahuatzin and the government of Tezcuco, so that when Cortes, at the head of a more powerful force of Spaniards and Indians than he had as yet commanded, approached the latter pueblo, he found it ready to join him without further ado. This step not only broke up the Aztec confederacy, but practically sealed the doom of Tenochtitlan; for from Tezcuco as a base, Cortes was able to construct and set afloat Spanish brigantines in such numbers as to control the lake and effectually blockade the savage Venice which it protected. Among other things, it was possible to control the aqueduct leading from Chapultepec,



FIG. 74. Bas-reliefs at Palenque. (Charnay, "Ancient Cities of the New World.")

and thus to cut off the water-supply. Under these favorable circumstances Cortes began the siege of Mexico on the 28th of April, and ended it on the 13th of August. Scarcely a day passed without incessant and obstinate fighting. Canals ran red with blood, streets were piled with corpses until passing was impossible; but all this furious resistance was hopeless. The knell of the ancient order of things had sounded, and the end of that summer saw the Spaniards undisputed masters of Mexico.

The reader will at once understand that there was here no such thing as the conquest of an empire by a handful of troops. There was no nation here, but a collection of fifty or sixty fortified towns, three of

which held the others in unwilling subjection. Besides this there was a native confederacy, that of the Tlascalans, which from the start had successfully resisted the three ruling pueblos and cherished for them deadly hatred. Furthermore, there was the widespread belief in the coming of the Fair God, which from the first played so curiously into the hands of Cortes. And last, not least, there was, as so often happens in such affairs, a woman in the case—the bright-eyed, quick-witted Marina. With all these aids, we see Cortes securing an alliance at first with the Tlascalans, then with many other pueblos, until at length he succeeds in breaking up the triple league itself. Under these circumstances the story loses its impossible, fairy-like features, and becomes as intelligible as any other human event. Yet not only does it lose nothing of its charm, but gains greatly in fascination as we come to understand how it all really could and did happen.



FIGS. 75-77. Terra-cotta masks from Teotihuacan. (Charnay, "Ancient Cities of the New World.")

In attempting to include the subject of American history in two or three volumes, it is necessary to omit a vast number of details that in themselves would be interesting. It is therefore my aim to select certain cardinal points in the subject and treat them somewhat at length, while passing more lightly over many others which are of less central importance. The conquest of Mexico is such a cardinal point; for in order to understand it we must understand the middle status of barbarism in general. The adventures of the Spaniards in gaining possession of the Central American states only carries us somewhat further upon the same road which we have been travelling, and they may therefore be passed over more lightly; but it is different when we come to the peoples beyond the Isthmus of Darien. The ethnography of the Southern Continent from the Pearl Coast to Cape Horn must claim our attention for a few moments, and then we shall be able to take up that story of the golden kingdom which was interrupted by the tragic and untimely death of Balboa.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SPANIARDS IN SOUTH AMERICA.

THE relations between the aborigines of North and South America cannot be understood without some reference to the glacial period, which we suppose to have come to an end in the northern hemisphere about sixty thousand years ago, after a duration of nearly two hundred thousand years. It is now the general opinion of geologists that glaciation was not continuous during this period, but that there were four or five eras of glaciation alternating with warm interglacial eras. In all probability an era of glaciation in the northern hemisphere corresponded to a mild interglacial era in the southern, and *vice versa*. Now, in Europe, the polar ice sheet extended southward as far as central Germany and southern France, where it became continuous with the greatly expanded glaciers of the Alps and Pyrenees. In North America the ice sheet extended as far south as the latitude of Philadelphia, except upon the Pacific coast, where the mild regions extended farther northward. It will be borne in mind that we have indubitable proof of the existence of man, both in Europe and in America, in the later Pliocene age, for which no less antiquity than 400,000 years can reasonably be assigned. The human race was therefore very old at the beginning of the long glacial period. The effect of the intense cold in the northern hemisphere seems to have been the wholesale extermination of some primitive races of men, and the migrations of other primitive races into the milder intertropical regions. Thus the race commonly known as River-drift men disappeared entirely from central Europe. During the cold their place was taken by a hardier race, which seems to have originated in Alaska. I refer to the Eskimos, a people whose name seems to be an Algonquin word meaning "seal-eaters." These people are, in a certain sense, the most ancient now known upon the earth. They seem to be of a somewhat different stock from other American races, although the affinity is close. The Eskimos are an extremely hardy race, endowed with a high degree of intelligence. In some way or other, while the cold period was coming over their country, they succeeded in adapting their ways of life to the situation, and survived where others perished. They adapted themselves to the conditions of life at the edge of the glaciated area, and thus, along

with the musk-sheep and the reindeer, they found their way through Siberia into central and western Europe, where their remains are now found in great abundance, and are called by geologists the remains of the Cave-men. Afterward they followed the glaciers in their retreat, thus retracing their course to northern Siberia and Alaska, their old habitat, whence they have since spread over the wilderness of islands and frozen continent north of Hudson's Bay and so as far as Greenland. They are hardy mariners, thrifty housekeepers, polite and gentle in their social intercourse, and possess far higher powers of imagination than the American Indians. They have a native literature of considerable merit, and as pictorial artists they are quite unapproached by any other barbaric people. As draughtsmen, indeed, they have excelled from remote ages. Their drawings of the chase, including sketches of primeval reindeer and the extinct mammoth, have been found in abundance in the caves of France.

While this remarkable people thus succeeded in adapting itself to the changed condition, the greater part of the population of North America east of the Pacific slope seems either to have been exterminated, or possibly to some extent to have found refuge in tropical climes, crossing the region which is now the Caribbean Sea, but which has more than once, since preglacial times, been raised above the surface of the waters. The six great North American stocks known within historic times were probably diffused from centres in California and Oregon, the ancestors of the pueblo tribes pressing southward, with the Athabascans on their heels. The Athabascans also spread northward to Hudson's Bay, becoming neighbors to the Eskimos. If we conceive the entire movement to have assumed the shape of a fan, spreading toward the Atlantic coast, we can assign the left-hand radius to the Athabascans, while next would come the Dakotas, then the Algonquins, next the Iroquois, and finally the Maskoki. Of course, this must not be understood too strictly. I wish only to give a general idea of the character of the diffusion. Of course, there was much irregularity and collision. We find to-day the remains of at least one Dakota tribe among the Catawbas of Carolina, while two Iroquois peoples, the Tuscaroras and the Cherokees, strayed far from the general course pursued by their kinsmen. Now, it is significant that all American languages east of the Pacific region belong to one or another of these six classes, apparently indicating that the forerunners of these Indians had either been swept away or adopted the speech of their conquerors. But on the Pacific coast, where the glaciers never came, we find quite a babel of discon-

needed dialects spoken by small tribes of very inferior savages, who may fairly be supposed to be a remnant of the glacial men. For it must be understood that multiplicity of languages is a mark of very primitive society. Quite contrary to the old notion that mankind began with a single speech which has broken up into many, the most advanced linguistic study shows us that mankind began with an immense number of languages, each tribe having its own, and that languages widespread and few come only with a marked increase in social stability.

Now, if we turn to South America, we are first struck by the fact that its relations to the periods of glaciation must have been very different from those of the northern continent. By far the greater part of North America lies within the glaciated region, but with the southern continent it is quite the reverse. The broad portion, including Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and most of Brazil, lies within the tropics; while the narrow portion, including Chile, Patagonia, Argentina, Uruguay, and most of Paraguay, lies within the temperate zone. Phenomena of glaciation are scarcely visible north of the lower valley of the river La Plata. The philology of South America has been much less carefully studied than that of the northern continent; but so far as we know, it appears that in Brazil hosts of disconnected dialects still survive, implying the survival of a great number of primitive peoples still retaining tribal distinctness, and it is perhaps fair to suppose that these are remnants of preglacial men overcome, but not exterminated, by invaders from the colder south. Of these invaders, the race which is now dominant in Brazil under its Portuguese possessors is the Tupi-Guarani (Fig. 78), a people in the lower status of barbarism, but gifted with vigor and intelligence, and probably capable of taking on a sound civilization. They are an agricultural people, cultivating maize and also the cassava or bread-fruit, from which they also prepare a fermented liquor. In the southern temperate region we come upon a sturdy and powerful race living as hunters on the plains of Patagonia. Very different from these are the squalid and miserable inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, who may be perhaps regarded as a race of preglacial savages who formerly kept near the edge of the ice sheet and were pushed southward by their stronger neighbors. In the fastnesses of the southern Andes, we meet with the formidable Araucanians, who may well be called the Montenegrins of the New World, since they have never been vanquished by the Spaniards, even as the heroes of the Black Mountain have never bowed the knee to the Turk. Possibly there may be kinship between the strong Patagonian race and these men

of Arauco. Coming to the northern coast of the continent, we encounter a most interesting race of people: the famous Caribs, who may be, as some suppose, an offshoot from the Tupi-Guarani. The latter have always been excellent navigators upon the immense rivers which flow through their country, calling for extreme skill in the management of boats; but they have never ventured to any extent upon the ocean, perhaps from the absence of contiguous islands wherewith to practise the early stages of seafaring adventure. On the other hand, the Caribs

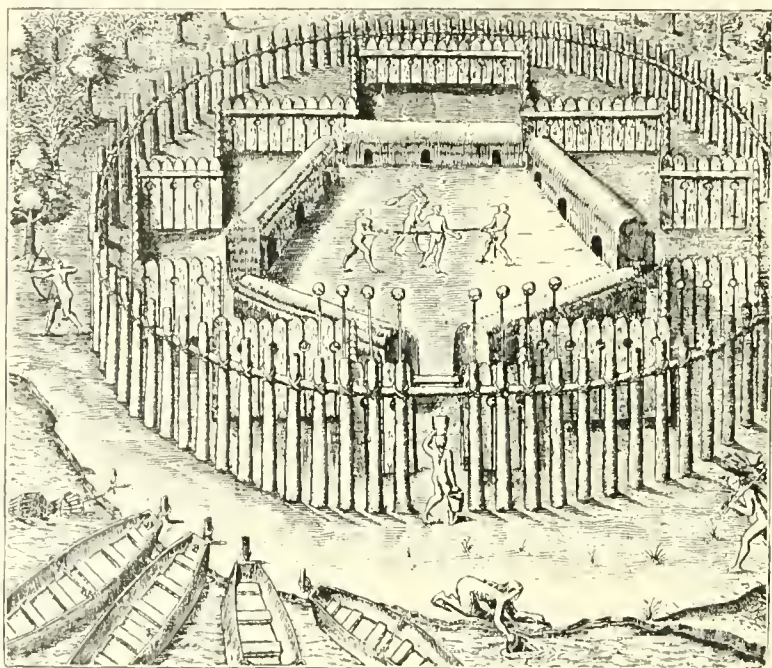


FIG. 78. —Tupi-Guarani village. (Cronau's "Amerika.")

were admirably situated for such attempts. Close by the mouth of that great Carib river, the Orinoco, comes the island of Trinidad, the first of the multifarious group of islands that stretch northward as far as the Bermudas. No better conditions could be found for cultivating the art of seamaanship, and accordingly we find that the Caribs were the only truly maritime race in the New World. They were in the lower state of barbarism and great consumers of human flesh. As was formerly mentioned, they gave to the English language the word "cannibal." These Caribs made excellent vessels, propelled by sails as well as by oars. They seem to have visited all the Atlantic coast from Uruguay

to Florida, and it has been supposed that they may have ascended the Mississippi River.

Coming now to the western slope of the Andes, we encounter very peculiar geographical conditions. Along with the highest and most difficult mountains in the world, except the Himalayas, we have upland



FIG. 79.—Chiriquian monkey. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. vi.)

regions highly salubrious in atmosphere and with soil that responds readily to industrious cultivation. It is a narrow strip of country, moreover, to which the giant mountain-range forms a natural wall against enemies, such as the pueblo Indians and cliff-dwellers of New Mexico would have been glad to have had to protect them from the

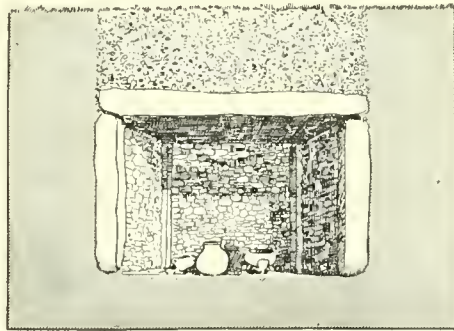
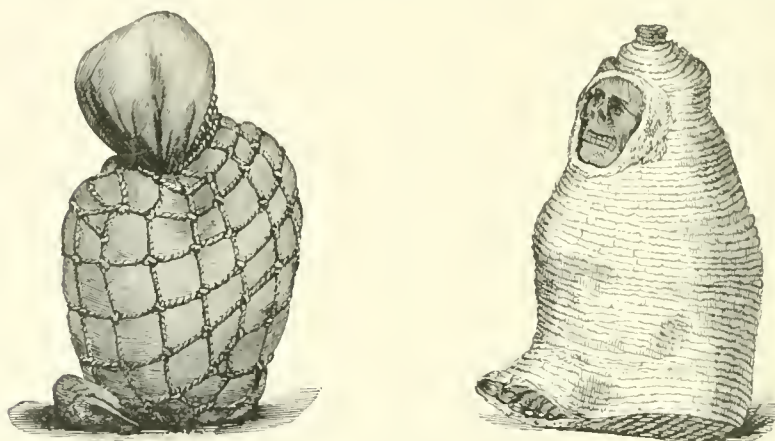


FIG. 80.—Chiriquian grave. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. vi.)

Apaches. In this narrow region there grew up a kind of society which in some respects approached nearer to civilization than anything else in the New World, although the people were rated as less quick-witted and intelligent than the Mexicans, and in many respects the advance from barbarism was but slight. Here unquestionably was the nearest approach

to nation-making of which we find any trace in ancient America. It is interesting in this connection to note that here too we find the only domesticated animals of America, other than the ubiquitous dog. Over the rugged cliffs of the Andes still roam the wild huanaen and vicuña; the former of these somewhat resembles a small camel, the latter is somewhat like a sheep and is distinguished for the extreme fineness and beauty of its wool. Both are very difficult animals to tame; yet they were long ago most thoroughly domesticated by the people of Peru, the one becoming a beast capable of carrying light burdens and known as the llama, while the other became the alpaca, used like a sheep for its wool and for its flesh. The alpaca has become so completely domesticated that it cannot live in a state of nature. It is also to be observed



FIGS. 1, 2. Peruvian mummies. (From "Harper's Magazine," published by Harper & Brothers.)

that, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, the people of Peru had brought to a high state of perfection the potato and their peculiar Lima bean, which is perhaps the most highly esteemed of beans. Now, the wild potato is an exceptionally intractable vegetable; and the creation of these new varieties of food, as well as the thorough domestication of the animals mentioned, implies a very long lapse of time, during which the Peruvians had begun to rise above the lower status of barbarism.

But so much as this cannot be said of the ruling race which the Spaniards found in Peru on their arrival. It is quite clear that the rule of the Incas had been brief, and that a new wave of culture had superseded an older wave not long before. Concerning this older culture, far back in which we must place the beginnings of the domestication of these

plants and animals, our knowledge is but fragmentary, gained from the inspection of ruined buildings, implements, and decorations, which have not yet been made the subject of exhaustive archaeological study. Suffice it to say, that, from the Isthmus of Darien to the northern confines of Chile, we find the evidences of an old pueblo type of semi-civilization not unlike that of Mexico. First, we have that of the Chibchas of New Granada, and, farther to the south, that of the Chancas of Peru; but whether these peoples were kinsmen to each other, and in what relation they stood to other South American stocks, we cannot say with any approach to confidence. Human sacrifices and cannibalism seem to have been common, as in Mexico; but we meet with one feature not before witnessed in the New World. As soon as we go south of the Isthmus of Darien, we begin to find mummies; and the part played by mummies in the life of the Peruvians has been important. Indeed, it forms one of our sources of information concerning Peruvian history. At the time of the

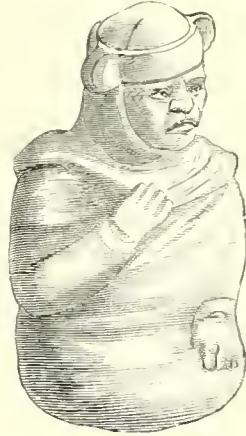


FIG. 83.—Mummy. (From "Harper's Magazine," published by Harper & Brothers.)

conquest, the Peruvians enumerated eleven sovereign Incas as having ruled over them, beginning with the civilizer, Manco Capac, whose name means "Great Chief." Now, eleven generations is too long a period for trustworthy tradition in most cases, and the Peruvians had absolutely no written record of any kind. They do not seem to have made any noticeable beginning of a system of picture-writing. Their only method of recording events was by tying knots in bunches of strings, which were called *quipus* (Fig. 84). Their method of recording was to tie groups of knots varying in number and intricacy in the several strings of the quipu. In this way they kept an account of their flocks of alpacas, and of the tribute due from vassal tribes. In this way they kept up a census of their warriors, and even contrived to make memoranda of historic events. We should hardly trust information of this sort for a period of eleven generations, were it not for the peculiar aid here given by mummification. The body of every one of those eleven sovereigns was kept above ground, duly seated on a throne of state, while a house and servants were assigned and religious rites were performed in his presence. The Spanish conqueror was therefore not simply told of these

eleven Incas, but he was taken into the presence of the eleven ghastly objects that had once been animated by their royal souls ; and since this kind of evidence merely requires belief in the continuity of a custom, it is perhaps as strong as we could wish.

We have just spoken of these sovereigns as Incas. That is the name not of an officer, but of a tribe. The Inca was simply the chief of the Inca tribe, just as the chief of an Irish clan at the present day is called

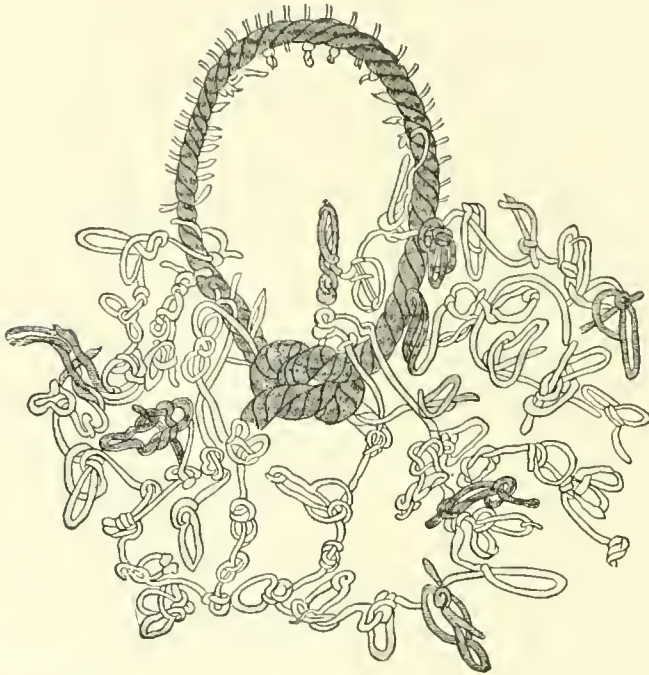


FIG. 84. A Peruvian quipu. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. x.)

The O'Donoghue, or just as the Duke of Argyle is *par excellence* The Campbell. Now, the Inca tribe was one of the divisions of a numerous and hardy race known as the Aymara. We catch our first glimpses of them in the great Bolivian highlands, whence flow the headwaters of the Plata. They were pre-eminently a race of herdsmen, tending their flocks of alpacas and llamas, and were reputed to be somewhat less endowed with wit than their agricultural neighbors. North of these Aymaras, in that part of Bolivia whence flow many of the headwaters of the mighty Amazon, dwelt one of these agricultural races, the Quichuas ; and at some unknown date, but perhaps less than five centuries before the com-

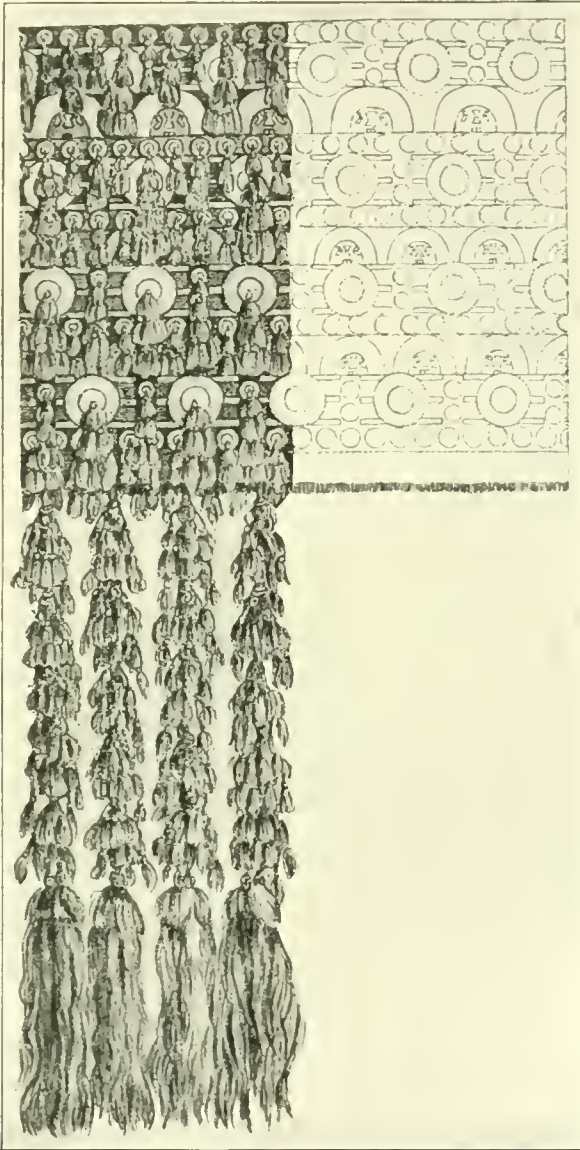


FIG. 85.—Tassel-work from ancient Peruvian mantle. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. vi.)

ing of the white men, these neighbors formed an alliance which ended in their coalescing into a powerful community which combined pastoral life with agricultural, and in which the Quichua language came to prevail. The reason for their coalescence was probably the danger from the semi-

civilized peoples of Peru, whom we may call Chancas and Huaneas. At all events, it is clear that a deadly warfare was waged for many years between these peoples and the new Quichua-Aymara confederates. There is a curious analogy between the Aymaras furnishing the sovereign tribe, while the Quichuas furnished the language, and the case of ancient England, where the Saxons furnished the royal house, while the English form of speech prevailed. The reason seems to be the same in both cases: the Quichuas were much more numerous than their fellows, but the Inca tribe of Aymaras occupied the march or frontier toward the enemy, and thus came to the front in much the same way as the kings

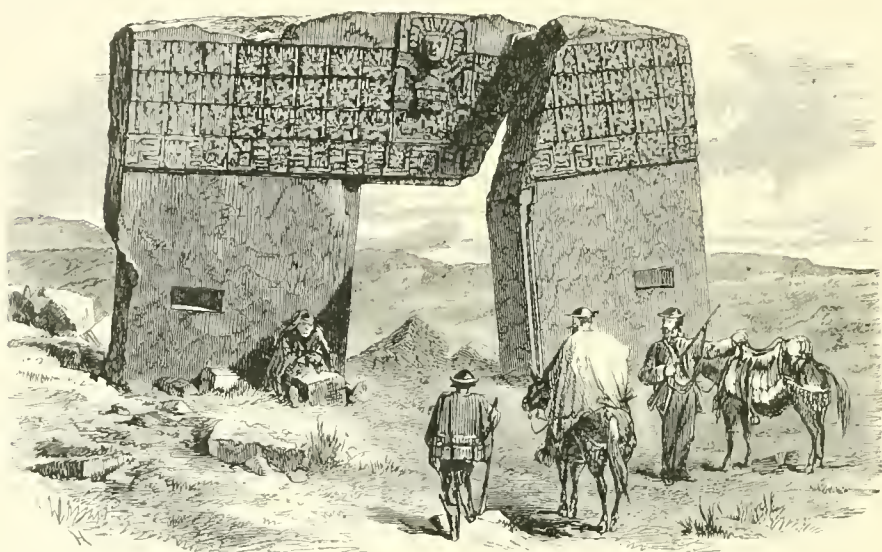
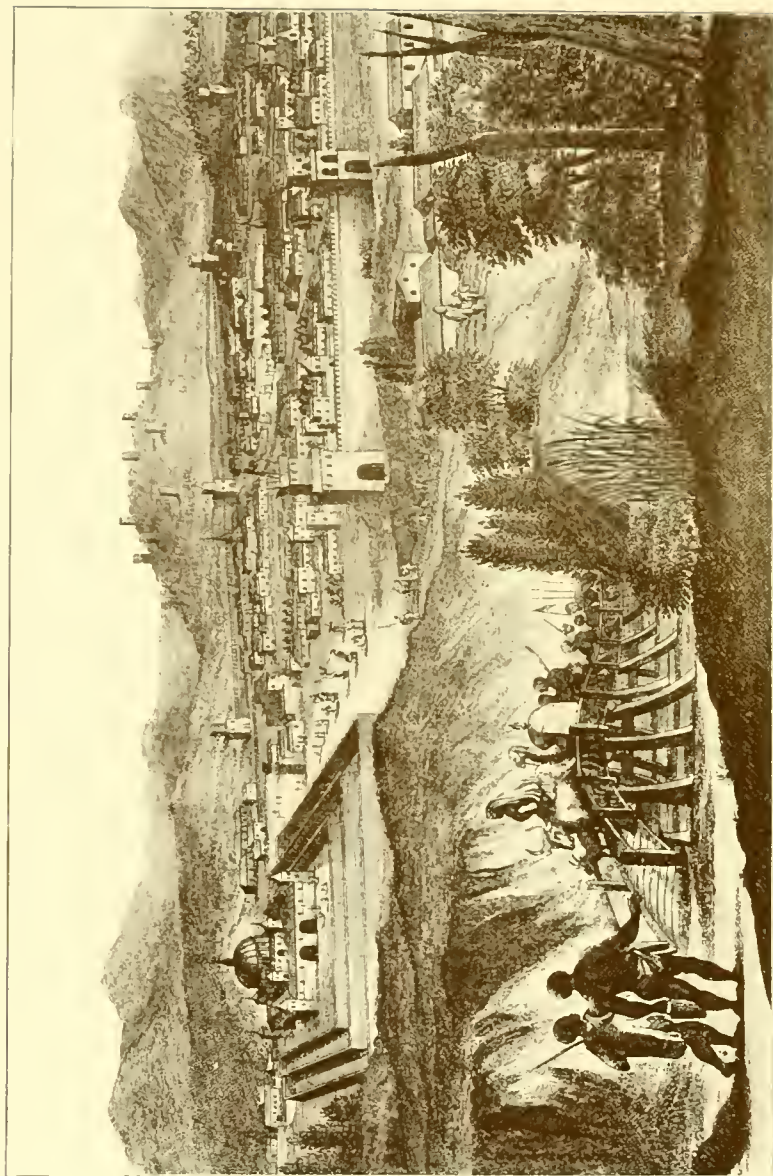


FIG. 86.—Gate at Tiahuanacu. (From Squier's "Peru," copyright, 1877, by Harper & Brothers.)

of Wessex in England, the margraves of Brandenburg in northern Germany, and the dukes of Austria on the Hungarian frontier.

Assuming that the era of Manco Capac may have been early in the thirteenth century, there was a period of about a century and a half during which the power of the Incas as the leading tribe of the Quichua-Aymara confederacy was getting consolidated. In 1380, with the accession of the eighth Inca, called Viracocha, which was a name for the sun-god, the authentic history of the country may be said to begin. The ruling house had already for some time established itself in the city of Cuzco, in a lofty valley of the Andes. While Viracocha was extending his conquests to the south of Lake Titicaca, the country

PLATE X.



View of Cuzco *circa* 1530.

From Cronau, "Amerika," vol. ii.

History of All Nations, Vol. XVI, page 1-3.

to the north of Cuzco was overrun by the Chancas. They defeated Viracoeba's son and successor, Urco, but were soon afterward completely overthrown by Urco's brother, Yupanqui. The Inca tribal council forthwith deposed Urco and elected Yupanqui to succeed him. That energetic warrior soon freed the Quichua country from the invaders. It soon appeared that his total defeat of the Chancas had been like the breaking of a dam, which allows the accumulated floods behind it to pour forth with all their hoarded force. The conquests of Yupanqui were rapid. He overran and subdued the whole country of the Chancas and Huancas, and then extended his sway over the coast-tribes as far as the sea. He also began the conquest of the Quitos, so that at his death the Inca tribe ruled over the whole country from Lake Titicaca to the equator and from the Andes to the ocean: so that this

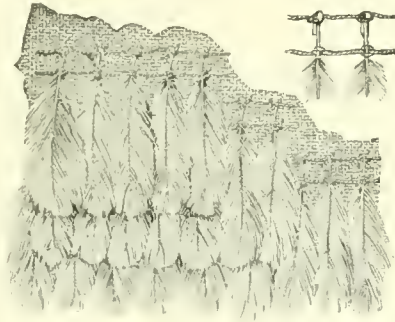


FIG. 87.—Peruvian feather embroidery. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. vi.)

warrior received the soubriquet of "Pachacutec," or "He who changes the face of the world." The conquest of the Quitos was completed by Pachacutec's son and successor, Tupac. His successor, Huayna Capac, conquered Chile as far as the thirty-fourth parallel: so that, at the time of his death in 1523, his kingdom extended from the Chibchas, in the present territory of Colombia, as far south as the invincible Araucanians. His father, Tupac, had founded the city of Quito, and Huayna spent a great deal of time there. Indeed, the delicious climate of that equatorial plateau proved very attractive to all the Inca grandees. During these latter years, the great Saesahuaman fortress overlooking the city of Cuzco was building. This mighty structure, to which some writers have attributed a fabulous antiquity, was begun by Pachacutec, and, after more than half a century, was still going on when the Spaniards arrived. Upon this point we have the testimony of Cieza de

Leon, one of the best and most accomplished of the Spanish conquerors and one of the most accurate and trustworthy historians that has ever written. His book is so important that through it we know Peruvian history from the time of Pachacutec almost as well as we know that of any modern country. We have also for this period a book decidedly inferior, but still of much value as well as of absorbing interest: the history written by Garcilasso de la Vega, who was the son of one of the most estimable of the Spanish conquerors by an Inca princess who was his lawful wife. She was one of the daughters of the Inca, Huayna Capac. So that Garcilasso was own cousin to the famous Atahualpa, of whom we shall shortly speak. Garcilasso was a man of such attractive personality that it is impossible to read his book without loving him; but it must be remembered that he wrote in a strong spirit of partisanship, which in many instances affected the soundness of his judgment. In the present instance, his testimony as to the beginning of the Saesahuaman fortress by his great-great-grandfather, and as to the continuance of the work until he himself, as a boy, used to watch it going on, fully supports that of Cieza and quite overthrows the theory of a fabulous antiquity.

The chronicles of these two delightful writers give us a very complete picture of Peruvian life as they knew it, and we can see that in many respects it differed widely from that of Mexico. As we have seen, the Aztec confederacy did not incorporate the pueblos which it vanquished, or undertake to administer their government. It simply extorted tribute from them; and the officials, who either resided in the subject pueblos or were periodically sent to them, were simply tax-gatherers. On the other hand, the Incas made a point of incorporating the people whom they subjected. Their magistrates were appointed by the Incas, and they enforced Inca law and customs. This incorporation was of course very imperfect when it was arrested by the Spanish conquest. It was most complete among the Quichuas and Aymaras, over whom the Inca sway had first been established, and it was less complete among the recently conquered populations. It is the only instance in aboriginal America where there was even an approach to such nation-making.

Now, there is one very instructive peculiarity about this primitive Peruvian form of nationality. We have seen that Peru had two domesticated animals; nevertheless, the alpaca and llama were not of sufficient importance to create a truly pastoral stage of society, like that of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, or the Hebrews

in the time of Abraham. Among all the nations of the Old World, so far as we know, the middle status of barbarism was characterized by the development of a pastoral stage of society. The idea of private property, which became fully developed in the upper status of barbarism grew out of this pastoral stage. The conception of wealth among the ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as the ancient inhabitants of India, was the conception of wealth in cows. In nearly all the languages of the Old World, we find words for "money" which originally meant "cow." In the lower status of barbarism, the individual might own his weapons, his clothes and trinkets, and the scalps which formed the record of his prowess, which he might hang up as some college graduates hang up their diplomas; but, after all, the house in which he lived and the plot of ground which his women cultivated, while he hunted



FIGS. 88, 89.—Chimu vases. (From Squier's "Peru.")

and fished or went to war, was the most important kind of property, and it belonged not to the individual, but to the clan. In the pastoral stage, however, the dwelling became of less importance than the cattle; so that the conception of *peculium* or private property came to the foreground. Now, it is interesting to observe that in Peru, the only community known to us in which nationality was reached without any preceding pastoral stage, the conception of private property was not developed at all, but the result was a socialistic despotism. The subjects of the Incas show us a state of things not unlike the industrial army imagined by the late Mr. Bellamy. It was not necessary for that writer to transport himself in fancy a thousand years hence, in order to look backward upon the society which he describes. A more extensive acquaintance with the past would have led him to study ancient Peru.

Under the rule of the Incas, the ancient clan-system was to a great extent broken up, and villages were organized upon a decimal system into industrial companies and regiments. Monogamy had been quite fully developed, and the average family was reckoned as five persons. Ten of these families made a *chunea*; ten *chuncas* made one *pachaca*; ten *pachacas*, one *huaranca*; ten *huarancas*, one *hunu*, equivalent to an army of 50,000. Each of these divisions had its own presiding officer, who was responsible to his immediate superior. Thus, the captain of a *chunea* took his orders from and made his reports to the captain of a *pachaca*; and so on in an ascending scale, ending with the Inca for the whole empire. The land was marked off into small spaces known as *tupus*, each one sufficing for a man and his wife. For each boy that was born, another *tupu* was added, and half a *tupu* for each girl. The produce of this land was divided into three shares: one for the Inca, one for the priesthood, one for the people. Every man who had taken part in the sowing was entitled to an equal share; but, if he had been absent because of military duties, he took his share out of the Inca's portion, or, if he had been employed in work about the temples, in which people took turns, he received his share from the priesthood's portion. In this way, the accumulation of wealth by any individual was made impossible; and in like manner, poverty was extinguished. Under these circumstances, division of labor advanced but little way. It would be unjust, however, to our modern socialists, not to point out the fact that this industrial equality was, after all, only partial. It was only the common people—which, after the analogy of France under the ancient regime, we might call the third estate—that were thus organized upon the principle of equality. While the people really had but one-third of what they produced, the other two-thirds were consumed in supporting the governing classes. The nobility of Inca warriors and the priesthood were supported by the third estate, just as in France the nobility and the clergy were exempt from taxation, the whole burden of which fell upon the common people. In the Inca theory, however, neither the nobility nor the clergy could be regarded as idlers; for the former were employed in defending the state from enemies or in enlarging its bounds, while the latter were employed in propitiating the deities and thus insuring the prosperity of the whole community. When we reflect upon the gold and silver mines of unprecedented richness in which the neighboring Andes abounded, we can easily understand how the temples should have accumulated such enormous treasures as the Spaniards found there. Here, at last, they were not deceived by the

reports of a golden kingdom. The vessels and utensils of gold and silver (Fig. 90) which adorned the temples were rich and numerous almost beyond belief. Besides mining, the principal industries were the raising of maize, beans, potatoes, and cotton-plants, the rearing of alpacas and llamas, the weaving of cotton and woolen cloths, and the brewing of chicha, a fermented drink made from maize, of which the Peruvians were inordinately fond. The mason-work involved in raising the stone temples and fortresses also demanded wholesale human labor, since the great stones were all moved and put in place without other force than human muscle, aided by ropes and rollers. In the absence of beasts of burden stronger than the llama, it was necessary to use men for such

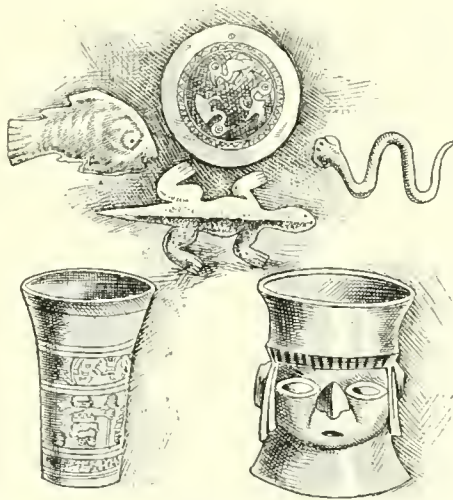


FIG. 90.—Gold and silver articles from Peru. (Cronau's "Amerika," vol. ii.)

work. It is said of one of the Inca sovereigns, at a time when there seemed to be some danger of overproduction, that he could make sure of his people always finding work enough to do: for, if they raised more corn and potatoes than was necessary, he could set them to building temples. There is something pathetic in the name which the native Peruvians to this day give to an enormous monolith standing alone in the plain, at some distance from the Saesahuaman fortress. They call it the "tired stone," and say that when it had got thus far toward its destination it was too weary to go further, and stopped abruptly where it still stands.

The worship conducted in these temples is commonly said to have been sun-worship; and this description is correct, provided we bear in mind

that the real object of worship was not exactly the shining disk in the heavens which we call sun, but an invisible spirit by which this shining disk was supplied with its light and warmth. The name of this invisible power was Pachacamac, a word which means "Creator." There was only one temple in Peru directly consecrated to Pachacamac; it was a very old temple near the coast, which seems originally to have been what the Incas would have called a heathen temple, which they had purified and dedicated to the service of the invisible spirit. The priests in this temple gave oracular responses to all kinds of questions, like the Greek priests at Delphi. In all the other temples, worship was paid to the sun as the visible symbol or perhaps as the incarnation of Pachacamac. At each of the four changes of season, a festival was held in the temples all over Peru, in which there was a burnt-offering of alpacas, corn, chicha, and fine cloths. With such gifts as these, the humane solar deity was satisfied; for, under the Incas, there were no human sacrifices, no cannibalism, no devil-worship. All these hideous things existed throughout the Peruvian country before its conquest by the Incas; but they made it their unvarying policy to suppress them, introducing in their stead the mild and pleasant religion of Pachacamac. Thus, in another respect, do we find Inca society in advance of anything else in the New World. It had reached the stage of missionary civilization, actively endeavoring to impart its own benefits to less advanced subject peoples.

If we consider that, in these approaches toward national organization, the Peruvians were reaching a point somewhat like that attained by the prehistoric Egyptians six or seven thousand years before Christ, it becomes interesting to see that their ideas regarding a future life were not unlike those of the Egyptians. The Peruvians seem to have believed in a future resurrection of the dead, a belief which they probably shared with the races whom they immediately superseded, all of whom seem to have preserved the mummies of the dead. We seem to get four stages of mortuary customs: first, that of such tribes as the Mandans, who exposed their dead in elevated positions, to decay in the open air, as the highly civilized Parsees of Bombay do even now; secondly, that represented by the Mexicans, who cremated their dead; thirdly, that of the Chibchas and other South American people, who made mummies, but had not yet outgrown human sacrifice; and lastly, that of the Incas, who, while making mummies, had discarded devil-worship with its accompanying practices.

Attached to these temples were colleges of augurs and soothsayers, which in some instances practised celibacy and were quite similar to

monastic brotherhoods. There were also convents of vestal nuns, who must be of pure Inca blood; their duty was to watch the sacred fire which was kindled at each autumnal equinox by the sun's rays falling on a polished mirror of crystal. The position and duties of these women were so similar to that of the vestals in ancient Rome that it is not at all strange that writers who have taken but a limited view of early society should suppose that the one institution must have been borrowed from the other. An immense number of facts, however, make the hypothesis of any Old World influence upon aboriginal America completely inadmissible, so that the similarity in question is only one of the most interesting among hundreds of examples which show that in all ages and climes the human mind has pursued a course of development substantially the same in many of its important aspects.

As the sun in heaven represented the divine Pachacamac, so the Inca was his representative and vicergerent on earth. The Inca thus seems to have reached the climax of kingship. He was military commander, chief priest, supreme judge, and supreme civil magistrate; while he added to these functions some attributes of the Deity, such as the Japanese formerly accorded to their Mikado. He was probably also for all practical purposes supreme law-giver, although there was a tribal council which could depose him and elect a successor. We know that this was done when the Inca Ureo was deposed and superseded by Pachacutec; but in Peruvian history we find such scanty traces of legislative action by the tribal council that we may fairly suppose its law-making functions had been absorbed by the Inca. The purity of the Inca's lineage was guarded by a regulation which has had, so far as I am aware, no parallel elsewhere in the world. It was absolutely necessary that the Inca's chief wife should be his own sister, daughter of the same father by the same mother, and to this rule no exception could be allowed under any circumstances. No son of an Inca who was not the product of such an incestuous marriage was capable of inheriting the throne; a point which we shall presently find to be of cardinal importance in our story. The chief wife of the Inca was called "Coya," which is equivalent to "queen." No instance is known in which the heir to the throne failed to have a true sister who could be his wife; had such an instance occurred, it is to be supposed that he would have been incapable of succeeding (PLATE X.). In theory, all the members of the Inca tribe were related among themselves, but in all probability there was more or less legal fiction about this; most likely, in early times their numbers were kept up by adoption, as commonly among conquering tribes. At the time when we know them,

a sharp distinction is drawn between the Inca tribe and those people whom they had conquered and who formed what we have ventured to call a Third Estate. This distinction between noble and ignoble blood was something elsewhere unknown in aboriginal America.

On the whole, it is clear that in many respects Inca society had advanced much further from barbarism than any other in the New World. In some most important respects, especially in all that concerns religious development, it had approached much nearer to civilization than Mexican society; nevertheless, the Spanish conquerors seem generally to have considered the Peruvians as noticeably inferior to the Mexicans in quickness of mind. The subsequent history of the two races would seem to bear out this view, for it must be remembered that a large majority of the people of Mexico to-day are the descendants of the aboriginal population, and the same is true, perhaps to a still greater extent, of the present population of Peru. It is certainly singular that along with so many features of a higher culture than that of Mexico, the Inca people should never have made the slightest approach toward developing the art of writing. In Mexico, there was more or less of a literature, both prose and poetry, enshrined in hieroglyphics which we have as yet had but lame success in deciphering; but many such literary productions happen to have been written in Roman characters soon after the conquest, so that we are able to read them and judge of their quality. In the Quichua language, we have one such memorial, a very pretty drama called "*Ollanta*," which happens to have been preserved in Roman letters and has been translated into English and several other European languages. Of hieroglyphic writing, the Peruvians had no conception, and their quipus could be of little use as a vehicle for literature. An Algonquin Indian had some notions of picture-writing, and would not have been puzzled to see white men exchanging ideas by handing one another pieces of paper; but among the South American tribes there were some who were completely mystified by such proceedings, and in this respect there were Peruvians no better off than they. Garcilasso tells how his father, having introduced from Europe the cultivation of watermelons, wished to send some as a present to one of his Spanish friends. He gave a dozen melons into the charge of two native Peruvians, at the same time handing them a letter which they must take to his friend, "and mind," said he, "that you don't meddle with any of these melons; for if you do so, the letter will tell my friend, who will whip you soundly." Now such of these Indians as had ever tasted a melon found it as hard to resist as any negro does in the dog-days.

After a couple of miles, our two dusky friends became tired and thirsty, and counselling together, decided to hide the mysterious paper and cover it with leaves and grass while they retreated out of sight, so that it could not watch them while they proceeded to cut up and share between them one of the delicious melons. Having taken these precautions, they took the letter from its imprisonment and fared on their way. After another mile or two, it occurred to one of them that if the Spanish captain to whom they were going should notice that one Indian carried six melons and the other only five, he might suspect foul play. It was therefore decided, after brief consultation, to eat another melon in order that the numbers might be equal. This was done with the same precautions as before, and then the Indians proceeded to their destination. No words can do justice to their overwhelming surprise when the captain, on reading the letter, instantly exclaimed, "Yon dogs! what have you done with two of these melons?" The poor Indians could only fall on their knees, tell the story truthfully, and beg forgiveness; and the captain's sense of the ludicrous was aroused to such an extent that he let them off with a laughing injunction to look out and never try to deceive the white man's demon of information again.

This story reveals a state of mind far below that of the Mexican, to whom the transmission of intelligence by means of written despatches was one of the ordinary events of life. We may add that while the Mexicans had arrived at the use of a circulating medium made of tin (a metal which our modern cheap-money idiots ought certainly to adopt instead of depreciated silver, since it is still cheaper), the Peruvians had none at all, but still adhered to the primitive practice of barter. Such instances may be cited as exceptional instances of their failing to reach grades of culture which in general they had surpassed.

The name "Peru," by which the golden kingdom of the Incas is known to us, was never known by them, and its origin is curious. Some time before the fall of Balboa, one of his captains, Francisco Pizarro (Fig. 91), whose name we have once before had occasion to mention, explored the coasts of the Gulf of San Miguel on the southern coast of the Isthmus of Darien. There they had a fight with a valiant chieftain whose name sounded like Biru, or, as others thought, Peru. So that they spoke of the shore southward from San Miguel as the Peru country. It was thus that the habit grew up of alluding to the golden kingdom in the Peru country, and thus the name for the golden kingdom remained attached to it, even when further exploration had found it to be more than a thousand miles removed from the waters of San Miguel. This Fran-

cisco Pizarro was of low origin; he is said to have been in his early days a swineherd, and never had schooling enough to sign his name. In the year 1522, after sundry abortive attempts had been made to explore the coast beyond San Miguel, Pizarro formed a partnership with two other Spaniards for that purpose. One of these was Diego Almagro, of whose previous life nothing is known. He seems to have been a man of peasant type, like Pizarro, and just as ignorant, but with a more



FIG. 91.—Pizarro.

generous and confiding nature. The third partner was a priest named Luque, a kind of sleeping partner who simply put money into the enterprise while he was content to let Pizarro and Almagro do all the work and get all the glory. It should be added that this agreement was made in the city of Panama, which had lately been founded as a port from which to equip vessels for exploring the Pacific coast.

The quest of the golden kingdom was beset with hardships. The distance was so great that thrice did the adventurers start out with an

insufficient supply of food ; the first time, both captains returned to Panama in sorry plight ; on the second and third occasions, Pizarro went ashore and fought off starvation as well as he could, while Almagro returned to Panama for fresh supplies. It was on the third that the great scene on the island of Gallo, so famous in art and story, occurred. Here Pizarro had waited many weeks with his party ; but instead of sending Almagro with the desired supplies, the governor of Panama detained that captain and sent a ship to bring home Pizarro's party, for the governor had come to lose all faith in the golden kingdom and wished to put an end to such useless folly. Now Pizarro, though an ignorant man of coarse fibre and ignoble character, was nevertheless unsurpassed for dogged resolution and bravery. When the relieving ship came, many of his exhausted men were only too glad to go on board ; but Pizarro, stepping before the whole company, drew with his sword an east-and-west line upon the beach and called upon all who were faint-hearted to arrange themselves on the north of that line, while the lovers of glory who heeded not the trifles of hardship should step to the south side along with their leader. Only sixteen men followed him, among whom, most fortunately for the enterprise, was the pilot, Bartholomew Ruiz, one of the most skillful of his profession. The rest went back to Panama, where the governor, Los Rios, scolded and fretted and vowed he would do nothing more for such silly creatures ; but presently changed his mind and sent another relieving ship ; for steadfast courage like Pizarro's was something that every Spaniard of that day knew how to admire. The pilot, Ruiz, persuaded this ship to take them southward, and the result was the discovery of the rich and important city of Tumbez. They proceeded as far as ten degrees south of the equator ; and when they returned to Panama with sundry beautiful vases of gold and silver, finely wrought woollen garments, live llamas, and a few men from whom they were beginning to learn the Quichua language, it was clearly worth while for Pizarro to go to Spain and carry the news of what he had found. His position was already a better one than that of Almagro, who had been kept in Panama while his partner was making this fine stroke of discovery. When Pizarro visited the emperor at Toledo, he was at once made a Don and appointed captain-general of Peru. When he returned to Panama in 1530, he took with him his two brothers, Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro, and his half-brothers, Fernando Pizarro and Martinez de Alcantara. All these were men like Francisco for bravery and force of will, while Fernando, the eldest of all, was a man of intelligence far superior to the others.

The Pizarros were ready much sooner than Almagro, and started in advance for Tumbes with only 200 soldiers, 50 horses, and a few cannon. The circumstances of their arrival played into their hands almost as remarkably as circumstances favored the first movements of Cortes in Mexico. It was the spring of 1531. Eight years before, in 1523, Huayna Capac had died and was succeeded by Huascar, his eldest son by his Coya or queen, his only lawful wife. Against this Inca, Huascar, a rebellion had broken out at the north, headed by his illegitimate brother Atahualpa (Fig. 92), who was governor of Quito. By a very gross misconception, this Atahualpa is generally regarded as the ruler of Peru at the time of the conquest, and he is often called the last of the Incas. Indeed, there is a poem about him, which is charming in every respect except in according to him this title. In point of fact, Atahualpa was not the last of the Incas, nor was he, properly speaking, an Inca at all. He was the son of Huayna Capac by the daughter of one of the Quito chieftains whom he had overcome in war. Since, therefore, his mother was neither a Coya nor a woman of Inca blood, but simply a foreigner, Atahualpa could not possibly succeed to the throne without a fundamental revolution in the whole theory of Inca society. So far as he acquired power, it was simple, unmitigated usurpation. In 1528, he had headed a rebellion against Huascar, the lawful Inca. It was not strange that such a rebellion should have occurred. The great length of the empire increased the difficulty of keeping the extremities in subjection in spite of the good military roads which the Incas made it their first care to build. The founding of the city of Quito a few years before had been virtually the establishment of a military colony to hold the northern province in subjection. It was customary for the Incas to preserve order in one part of their dominions by sending thither soldiers from another part, in order that the feeling of local patriotism might not avail against them. But the northern province had been but lately subdued. Atahualpa was the governor of Quito, and connected through his mother with many Quito chieftains. He may therefore well have thought it possible to effect a revolution in Peru. In 1528, at the head of a formidable force, he marched upon Cuzco and captured it, after which he proceeded to put to death as many of the Inca family as he could find; but Huascar himself he kept in custody on quite the same principle as that upon which Cortes held Montezuma. He knew that his own authority was not likely to be recognized by the older parts of the country, and so he meditated governing through the legitimate Inca at least for a time.

But this deep-laid scheme was quickly frustrated, inasmuch that



FIG. 92.—Atahualpa. (From Herrera's "Historia General," vol. iii., 1725.)

Atahualpa was never inducted into the office of Inca, and throughout the older part of the country was never recognized as such. At the critical moment his scheme was frustrated by the sudden arrival of white men. In Peru, as in Mexico, the newcomers were regarded as solar warriors, children of the sun. All persons regarded the Spaniards with awe and prostrated themselves on the ground before their approach. No one ventured to molest or hinder them. And so Pizarro in November, 1532, arrived at the little mountain-town of Caxamarca, where he found Atahualpa at the head of a large army. In what followed there can be no doubt that Pizarro imitated Cortes. He understood the necessity of striking a quick blow and taking possession of the person whom he supposed to be the Inca. A conference was therefore arranged in the market-place, in the course of which Pizarro's handful of Spaniards made a sudden attack upon the Indian hosts and overcame them through the terror of their cannon and horses, while they proceeded to seize the person of Atahualpa. That unlucky usurper was thus caught in the same kind of trap as that which he had laid for the Inca Huascar. He had evidently learned, however, that the children of the sun were fond of gold, and it was natural for him to suppose that ornaments taken from temples of the sun would propitiate them. He therefore promised, in case they would set him free, to give them as much gold and silver as would fill a certain room which he showed them, to a height of seven or eight feet from the floor. In pursuance of this promise, messengers were at once sent to the different parts of the kingdom to collect this ransom, but the task proved more difficult than had been supposed. Throughout a large part of the country the adherents of Huascar were not ready to deliver their gold and silver at the demand of Atahualpa, even though it was for tribute to the children of the sun. A great sum, nevertheless, was collected by the midsummer of 1533. Its value has been reckoned as equivalent in our modern money to \$15,000,000. Just at this moment the long-delayed Almagro arrived upon the scene with 150 men, for whom he demanded an equal share in the distribution. To this injudicious claim the Pizarros and their followers replied with scorn. They had taken the initial risk and accomplished the work, and they were not going to share equally with laggards who had earned none of the plunder. Thus were planted the germs of further contention and civil war.

While these things were going on, the Inca Huascar was kept in close custody at Cuzco, which was controlled by Atahualpa's chieftains. Hearing of what had happened, Huascar contrived to send a message to

Pizarro, representing that he was the lawful sovereign and offering a much greater ransom than that which Atahualpa had promised if they would deliver him from the clutches of that usurper. This affair was brought to the knowledge of Atahualpa, and presently Huascar was secretly murdered in his prison, probably by order of his keepers and with the connivance of Atahualpa, very much as the princes in the Tower of London were killed at such an opportune moment for their uncle Richard. This death of Huascar left his next legitimate brother, Manco Capac, the lawful heir to his office; but Atahualpa evidently relied upon Pizarro's promise, and so feared nothing from this new competitor. Pizarro, however, had reached the point where he began to discern more profit in breaking his promise than in keeping it. He seems to have been intending to adopt the policy of holding the balance between the opposing factions. To this end, he charged Atahualpa with murder, and also with conspiracy against the children of the sun. The usurper was duly convicted, and was strangled in the market-place of Caxamarca in the summer of 1533. While Pizarro thus figured as the avenger of Huascar, he proclaimed as Inca a son of Atahualpa, who, however, suddenly died. About this time an attack upon the Spaniards was made by some of the late Atahualpa's forces, who were repulsed with heavy slaughter. Then Manco Capac, contriving to escape from Cuzco, made his way into the Spanish camp, explained to Pizarro that he was the legitimate Inca, and promised to hold his office in submission to the children of the sun. Pizarro by this time seems to have comprehended that his true interest lay in protecting the true Inca rather than the adherents of the late usurper. He therefore marched to Cuzco, accepted the submission of the city, and had the Inca Manco consecrated with the usual ceremonies. A few crushing defeats of the Atahualpa faction in the field confirmed this triumph.

And now Spaniards began flocking to the golden kingdom. Fernando Pizarro had been sent home to Spain, carrying to Charles V. his twenty per cent. share of Atahualpa's ransom, and telling such tales of the wealth of Peru that the young grandees of the court and many a knight of the ecclesiastical orders thrilled with eagerness to go. By 1535 so many Spaniards had arrived that Pizarro thought it well to found a city upon the coast, so that he could more completely control the communications between Cuzco and the sea. Thus was founded the city of Lima. Upon Fernando's return, it appeared that the emperor had made Francisco a marquis, with full authority over all the country north of a parallel which happened to pass very near the city of Cuzco,

so that, in the absence of a careful survey, it was doubtful on which side of the line that city would come. As for poor Almagro (Fig. 93), he was not ennobled, but was granted authority over as much country south of the dividing line as he could go and conquer for himself.

Almagro can hardly be blamed for resenting this treatment, inasmuch as he had done effective work since his arrival. In the recent crushing defeats of the men of Quito he had been commander, and he now felt that he had earned some better reward than the mere chance for going and conquering a new country. So at first he laid claim to Cuzco, but was presently persuaded to yield that point and start for Chile, to see what haply he might find there.

After Almagro's departure occurred the only serious attempt which the Peruvians made to expel the strangers. The plan had evidently been preconcerted, for the large force of Indians which had started with Almagro suddenly deserted him and returned northward, while the Inca Manco escaped from the city of Cuzco and put himself at the head of an extensive rising of Inca troops. For six months, from midwinter until harvest-time, 1536, the Spaniards in Cuzco were in a very dangerous position; for the Inca's hosts held possession of the Saesahuaman fortress, and on the other side cut off their communications with the coast. Fernando Pizarro was in command and showed military qualities of a high order; nevertheless, the Spaniards would probably have at length succumbed to famine, had not that same gaunt enemy first assailed the besiegers. By early autumn the Inca found it impossible to find sustenance for his large force without somewhat scattering it over the neighboring country. At this moment the sturdy Almagro again appeared upon the scene in time to do good service. Among the mountains of Chile he had found little to encourage him in the hardships which he encountered, and presently concluded to turn back and have it out with his overreaching friends, the Pizarros. His first achievement was to defeat the Inca Manco with much bloodshed, and next to seize the city of Cuzco after some negotiation with Fernando Pizarro, in which each party charged the other with bad faith.

This seizure of Cuzco was the beginning of two years of desultory warfare between the two Spanish factions, which at last resulted in the complete victory of Fernando Pizarro at the great battle of Las Salinas. Almagro fell into the hands of his enemies, was tried for sedition, and summarily beheaded in July, 1538. This last act was imprudent. The Spanish government was apt to be jealous of any such extreme exercise of authority, and among Almagro's friends were some persons



FIG. 93.—Diego Almagro. (From Herrera's "Historia General," vol. ii., 1728.)

of influence. Fernando Pizarro therefore thought it best to return to Spain with such an amount of treasure as would insure him a favorable hearing. But he was disappointed. He was not allowed to return to Peru, and for several years a more or less strict watch was kept over his movements.

By this absence of Fernando, the Marquis Pizarro lost his safest adviser, and his treatment of the defeated friends of Almagro was highly imprudent, as well as ungenerous. He was not a gentleman, like Cortes, nor was he far-sighted, like his brother Fernando, but his fibre was essentially churlish. He treated the Almagro faction—the men of Chili, as they were called—with such insolence that after a while their hot Spanish tempers could bear it no longer. A conspiracy was formed to murder the marquis, and on a Sunday in June, 1541, just after the noon dinner, a party of nineteen or twenty desperate men made their way into the governor's house. His half-brother, Aleautara, and a few servants were with him, and it was only after an obstinate fight, in which several of their own number were slain, that the conspirators succeeded in killing them all. Immediately the assassins proclaimed as governor of Peru a half-breed son of Almagro; but the rule of that young man lasted but fourteen months. A lieutenant for Pizarro, with authority to succeed him in case of his death or disability, was already approaching Peru; and in a bloody battle at Chupas, in September, this newcomer, whose name was Vaca de Castro, overcame and captured young Almagro, who presently paid for his rashness with his head.

The success of Vaca de Castro might have introduced quiet into Peru but for a new cause of disturbance. Several thousand Spaniards were now settled in the country, and an effective resistance on the part of the Incas was no longer possible. As for the mass of the people, the great industrial army, it seems probable that they cared very little whether they were held in subjection by Incas or by Spanish governors. For them it was only a change of masters. They saw Spaniards appropriating tracts of country, building country houses, and taking all manner of liberties; they saw temples of the sun converted into Christian monasteries, and yet made no sign of resistance except for the brief half-year when Manco was laying siege to his capital. Among the other liberties taken by the Spaniards was the appropriation of large numbers of the natives to be held as slaves in *encomienda*. Now, in 1542, Las Casas obtained from the emperor the group of edicts known as the New Laws for the Indies. In their first shape these laws would

have worked an immediate abolition of slavery, and the result in Peru was a rebellion of Spanish settlers under the lead of Gonzalo Pizarro.

Gonzalo was the last of the five brothers left in the golden kingdom. Fernando, as we have seen, had been detained in Spain; Juan had been killed in the siege of Cuzco; Francisco and Aleantara had been assassinated. At the time of the latter event Gonzalo was absent on one of the most remarkable expeditions recorded in history. In 1539, having been appointed governor of Quito, he started to explore some of the great forests which clothe the eastern slopes of the Andes. Rumor, this time mendacious, told of yet another golden kingdom to the east-

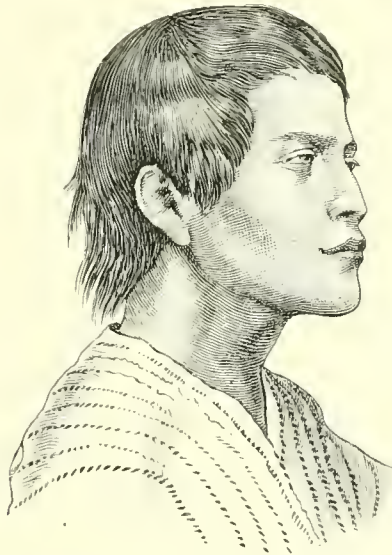


FIG. 94.—Typical Indian of Ecuador. (Cronau's "Amerika," vol. ii.)

ward; and in quest of this, Gonzalo with 350 men toiled on till he reached the Napo River, which he understood would bring him to a still greater stream. He had with him one small vessel, in which he sent forward a small party under one of his officers, Orellana, in the hope that either the alleged golden kingdom, or at least some country where supplies could be obtained, might presently be found. The strong current bore Orellana swiftly down to the greater river, which was that now known as the Amazon, and here Orellana played a part which has ever since been stigmatized as base desertion—and perhaps with justice. He was doubtless right in thinking that to return against the current of the Napo would be impossible, and the country about him afforded

no sustenance, so he pressed on and on down-stream through 4000 miles of difficult river-navigation until he reached the ocean; and so on, to a station in the West Indies, whence he was able to return to Spain. Perhaps Orellana, like too many of his kind in those days, may have wished to secure for himself the glory of discovering a new golden kingdom; but perhaps he may have thought it unwise to imperil the lives of all his party in a country where no food was to be had, in the doubtful chance of affording aid to Gonzalo's main party. It is not always easy, in such cases, to discriminate among motives; but since Orellana, in his course down-stream, did presently obtain food from parties of natives, it was then, no doubt, his duty to wait and give Gonzalo a chance for coming up with him. At all events, one of Orellana's party condemned his proceedings, and, obstinately refusing to accompany the vessel, was left ashore in the forest all alone. This brave cavalier made the best of his way back to Gonzalo with the news of what had happened. Then the stout commander bowed to necessity and ordered a retreat. At midsummer, 1542, after awful sufferings, Gonzalo led the survivors, less than 100 in number, into the public square at Quito. He then learned of the murder of Francisco just a year before. The defeat of young Almagro now followed within two months, and Gonzalo made no attempt to oppose the new governor, Vaca de Castro. But after the promulgation of the New Laws he was persuaded to head the rebellion which ensued. This was in 1544; and early in 1546 Gonzalo had put down all opposition and was throughout Peru acknowledged as its ruler.

Such a position was, however, extremely precarious. It was not wise to set one's self up in opposition to an intelligence so keen as that of Charles V. The emperor at once realized the necessity of modifying the New Laws, and the change was skillfully made so as to insure gradual abolition without too sudden a disturbance of what these invaders and plunderers of other people's country called by the sacred name of "vested interests." Charles also chose an able agent for pacifying the revolted settlers and bringing them back to their allegiance. This man was a priest belonging to one of the half-monkish, half-military orders so common in Spain. His name was Pedro de la Gasca. He was mild in manner and persuasive in speech, like Ovando; and also, like that fair-haired little man, he had not the slightest compunctions about cutting off heads. It was well understood that nobody could quell insubordinate Spaniards like a military priest. Gasca's trump card was the modification of the New Laws, and with it he soon

found himself taking every trick. The audacious Gonzalo had even sent ships to Panama, which were not to allow any such persons as Gasca to proceed any further, unless it might be as a prisoner; but the insinuating priest soon talked them over. On his arrival in Peru it should soon have become evident that there was no use in trying to oppose him. He was the regularly accredited representative of the emperor, and, one after another, Gonzalo's friends went over to him. The only prudent course for the latter was to give in his submission at once, for there were many circumstances to extenuate his former action. But he imprudently chose the part of resistance, and in less than a year was decisively defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded. Gasca celebrated his triumph by wholesale executions, and presently, having accomplished his mission, returned to Spain. The embers of rebellion still smouldered, however, and the country was not really at peace until 1556, when a governor was sent to Peru of far higher character than the men who had effected its conquest. This was the Marquis de Cañete, under whose wise and firm rule the country may be said to have become pacified.

A few words must now be said about the remaining conquests in South America; and first, with regard to Chile. The execution of Almagro had left the Marquis Pizarro practically at liberty to direct the course of affairs to the southward, and in 1540 he sent Pedro de Valdivia to take possession of Chile. It was the intention of Valdivia to found Spanish towns after the pattern of Lima and effect the permanent settlement of the country. To this end, Santiago was founded in 1541, Valparaíso in 1544, and several other Spanish towns soon afterward. At first Valdivia's success seemed well assured, inasmuch that it was proposed to create him Marquis of Arauco; but the opposition which he presently encountered was more formidable than that which any white men had met with in any other part of America. After nine years, while Valdivia was absent in Peru, he was obliged to return hastily to his government by the news of an Indian war. The Araucanians of Southern Chile, finding their independence threatened, attacked the Spanish settlements; and in the obstinate conflict which ensued Valdivia lost his life. He was succeeded by Don García de Mendoza, son of the Marquis de Cañete. The war against the Araucanians was kept up for more than thirty years and under several governors, yet the power of those sturdy mountaineers was not broken. An excellent Spanish historian speaks of the Araucanians as invincible, saying "they cannot

be made to submit to the bitterest reverses of fortune; even their losses, far from discouraging them, seem only to prompt them to fresh deeds of valor." Events, indeed, occurred in the southern Andes as unlike as possible to the ordinary events of warfare between white men and red men. Toward the end of the sixteenth century Don García Ramon led an army of 3000 disciplined Spaniards, who were then reckoned among the best infantry in Europe, against the Araucanians, and was totally defeated with such fearful slaughter that very few came away to tell the



FIG. 95. — Araucanian man. (Cronau's "Amerika," vol. ii.)

tale. The effect of this catastrophe was to put the Spaniards upon the defensive. A force of 2000 men was kept constantly under arms for patrolling the frontier, and its maintenance drew \$300,000 annually from the treasury at Lima. At length, in 1640, exactly a century after Valdivia's invasion of Chili, a treaty was made between the Spaniards and the Araucanians. The river Biobio, at the mouth of which stands the city of Concepcion, was fixed as the boundary of Arauco, the natives of which agreed to recognize the King of Spain as their suzerain or feudal overlord. In exchange for this concession the Spaniards withdrew all their troops from the Araucanian territory, and all prisoners on

both sides were released. The peace which followed was several times interrupted by warlike outbreaks, and it was not until late in the eighteenth century that permanent quiet was established in the still unconquered Arauco.

We may now cross the Andes and observe what was going on in the La Plata valley. It will be observed that the circumstances under which the Spaniards first reached America made them primarily a power looking toward the Pacific. In other words, as the gold-mines of Hispaniola proved inadequate to meet the feverish demand for precious metals,



FIG. 96.—Araucanian woman. (Cronau's "Amerika," vol. ii.)

the first important conquests were those of Mexico and Peru, and the commercial relations between the two centring in the isthmus route between Panama and Porto Bello were more directly concerned with the Pacific Ocean than with the Atlantic. For the present, the Pacific coasts were comparatively safe from European attack, but there was a postern through which the rich mines of Potosi might be approached from the Atlantic coast. This postern was the rich La Plata valley, through which flow those mighty rivers, the Parana, the Paraguay, and the Pilcomayo. It was worth while to protect this route against adventurers from other

European powers. It might also be made a highway for the transportation of gold and silver directly to Spain, an alternative route which in some cases might prove preferable to that across the Isthmus of Darien. Such thoughts led to the founding of a colony in 1530 by Sebastian Cabot, but he found it difficult to attract colonists to a region where life must be sustained by agriculture rather than by plunder. No signs of gold appeared on these plains, and the Indians were uncivilized and poor. Nevertheless, the attempts were kept up, and in 1535 the city of Buenos Ayres was founded—the same year, it will be noticed, in which Lima was built. Other parties of colonists made their way farther inland.

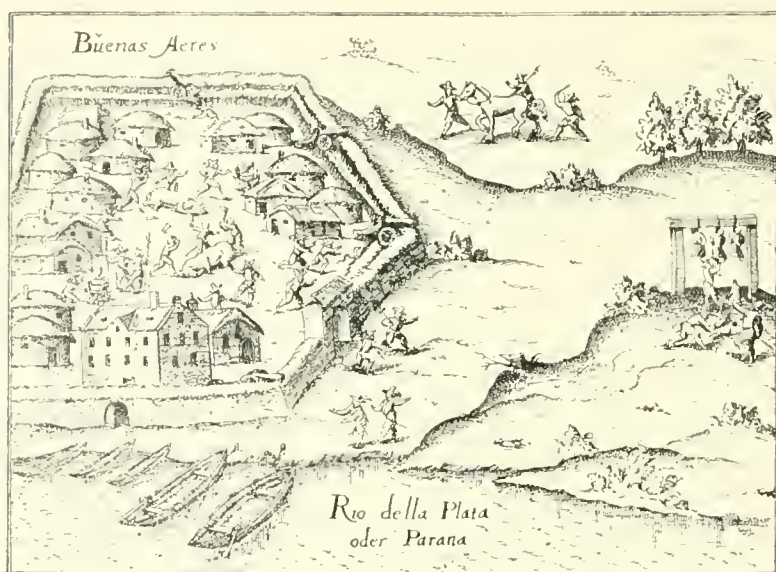


FIG. 97.—Buenos Ayres at the time of its founding. (Cronau's "Amerika," vol. ii.)

Much trouble ensued with the neighboring Indians, and after three years, for greater security, all the Spanish settlers were concentrated upon the Paraguay River, and the town of Asuncion was founded. The history of this colony for the next few years presents some peculiar features. Under some circumstances, perhaps, it would have been deserted, but freedom of movement was not accorded to Spaniards in the sixteenth century; nobody was allowed to go from Spain to America without a license, and, similarly, once in America it was impossible to return to Spain save by permission. Finding no gold, the settlers of Paraguay were obliged to cultivate the soil, which indeed was rich and responded

readily to the touch of the laborer. Broad acres of maize were grown, the Indians were subdued, and the colony became to an unusual degree self-supporting. For a while, too, perhaps owing to its sequestered inland situation, its affairs were but slightly meddled with by the authorities of Madrid; while for the viceroys at Lima, the Andes constituted a barrier over which it was not worth their while to reach. We therefore find the Spanish colony at Asuncion governing itself to an unusual extent, and one curious symptom of this partial independence was the introduction of polygamy. It was stipulated that the governor might have seven wives and each of the settlers two, all of whom were furnished them from the Tupi-Guarani tribes of the neighborhood. One result of this arrangement appears in the race-character of Paraguay, which is mainly Indian with a small infusion of Spanish blood. But after some years the Spanish court took cognizance of these proceedings, a bishop was appointed, and monks were sent over, under whose influence polygamy presently became stigmatized as illegal and un-Christian, though practically it was not all at once abolished. The chief source of the prosperity of this region was the introduction from Spain of large herds of cattle, horses, and sheep, the ancestors of those for which the broad plains of the Argentine Republic have long been famous. By 1580 the population of the lower Parana valley was in a thriving condition, and the city of Buenos Ayres was founded for the second time (Fig. 97). It presently became a distributing centre for hides, tallow, live stock, and grain, and soon surpassed Asuncion in size and importance. After some years the two provinces of Paraguay and Buenos Ayres were separated, each under a captain-general who was subordinate to the viceroy at Lima.

Proceeding northward from the broad mouth of La Plata, we soon reach the coast of Brazil first explored by Americus Vesputius. For a time, the Portuguese government, absorbed by its great conquests in the Indian Ocean, paid little attention to Brazil. The first visitors to that coast who made permanent settlements were Jews fleeing from Portugal to escape the Inquisition. As if in satire of such proceedings, the government at Lisbon proceeded to send out all sorts of criminals to this neglected coast; but after a while, as Portuguese captains returning from India now and then found their way to Brazil, they perceived it to be a country in which many rich tropical products similar to those of the East Indies might be raised; among other things, it was found that the rich scarlet dye-wood which had long been brought from Sumatra under the name of Brazil-wood also flourished luxuriantly on

this American coast; and from this circumstance it gradually came to be called Brazil. Presently—that is, between 1520 and 1530—the greater part of the coast was parcelled out in feudal domains known as captaincies, each fifty leagues in length along the coast and extending inland as far as you please. These feudal lords were allowed to receive Indians in *encomienda*, or, in other words, to enslave them. But such hopes as may have been based upon this permission were soon disappointed; for the Tupi-Guarani warriors proved hard to defeat, while, when captured, they were worthless as laborers. Recourse was therefore soon had to negro labor. As the Portuguese in 1542 had originated the modern system of slavery, so now, nearly a century later, they were the first to begin the importation of negroes from Africa into America on a large scale. Thus Brazil became in the strict sense a plantation colony, and one of the principal sources of its wealth was the growth of the sugar-cane. In one respect it differed widely from the Spanish plantations of Paraguay and Buenos Ayres. These Portuguese settlers brought their families with them, and thus transferred European society into the wilderness instead of mingling with the natives.

As for the northern coast of South America, which the Spaniards for a long time called *Tierra Firme*, or sometimes the Spanish Main, to distinguish it from the West India Islands, it remained for many years under the government of San Domingo. On the Pacific coast, its southern limits were formed by the province of Quito, which, as we have seen, was part of the viceroyalty of Peru. In the interior, the vast confines of Venezuela and Brazil were lost in a wilderness denser, darker, and more entangled than any other to be found on the earth. In 1527 the beginnings of a distinct government for Venezuela were made when the city of Coro was founded. This place remained the seat of government for that coast until 1576, when it was superseded by Caracas. Between these dates the fortunes of Venezuela were checkered and curious. In 1528, before Charles V. had begun to derive so much revenue from America as came to him a few years later, the needs of his exchequer obliged him to borrow large sums of money from a rich firm of merchants in Augsburg by the name of Welser. As collateral security, the emperor granted to the Welsers the territory of Venezuela as a fief. The grant extended from Cape Vela, a little west of the Gulf of Maracaibo, eastward nearly to the mouth of the Amazon, with an indefinite extension inland. The feudal services which the Welsers were to render consisted in the founding of certain towns and

forts and the equipment of sundry ships for the transportation of Spaniards. Among their privileges was one which allowed them to make *encomiendas* of such Indians as they might find it necessary to overcome by force of arms. This treaty was the beginning of eighteen years of plunder. Marauding expeditions were made against the native Indians, who were enslaved by hundreds and treated with cruelty. At last, in 1545, the emperor rescinded his grant to the Welsers and appointed a Spanish governor, Juan de Tolosa, to rule over Venezuela. Under the rule of successive Spanish governors the province was kept in comparative quiet, and by the end of the century had made some progress in wealth and population.

Exploration of the country westward and southward from the Gulf of Maracaibo was made by Gonzalo Quesada, who founded the city of Bogota in 1538 and gave to the country the name of New Granada. It continued under the rule of Spanish governments, and its career was the monotonous and familiar story of the cultivation of large estates by the enforced labor of Indians.

CHAPTER V.

SPANISH METHODS OF GOVERNMENT AND NORTHERN EXPEDITIONS.

WE have now arrived at a point from which we may take a brief survey of Spanish methods of government in the New World, as well as of the Spanish commercial policy. First of all, it should be understood that the newly found lands were not supposed to belong to the Spanish nation, but they were additions to the private property of its sovereigns. Ferdinand and Isabella had been king and queen of Aragon and Castile, to which they added by conquest the kingdom of Granada, taken from the Moors. In like manner, by right of discovery and of the bull of Alexander VI., they added to their dominions the empire of the Incas and what has been called the kingdom of Mexico, as well as all their other acquisitions in the New World. In later times we find a similar theory held by the English. The colonies in North America were supposed to be not the property of the English nation, but only of its sovereign. Massachusetts belonged to Charles I. in the same way that Windsor Castle belonged to him. It was to be governed by the king in council, and Parliament had nothing to do with it. In 1623, when Parliament undertook to interfere in the affairs of Virginia, it was roundly rebuked by James I. and told to mind its own business and not meddle with his affairs. This doctrine continued to be held by the American colonists until their declaration of independence; but in England, after the Commonwealth period, it became rapidly obsolete; and after the reign of William and Mary the English doctrine was that there must be some supreme authority over the whole British empire, and since that sovereignty was clearly not in the king, it must, of course, reside in Parliament. Thus, out of the conflict between the older British theory retained by the Americans and the newer British theory, grew the American Revolution. It is instructive to note that this older British theory was at first held in common by England and Spain. It was clearly an outgrowth from the mediæval theory which regarded the king as supreme landlord over all his domains, and in the light of it we can understand the vexation felt by Queen Isabella when she heard that Columbus had made slaves of some

Indians. "What right has this man," she exclaimed, "to enslave my subjects?"

In order to govern their trans-Atlantic possessions, the Spanish sovereigns needed a special advisory board; and thus was created in 1493 the Council of the Indies, the first president of which was that ungodly prelate, Juan de Fonseca, who made so much trouble for Columbus and for Las Casas. This council was the supreme authority under the sovereigns for all matters connected with the Indies. Its decision in all matters that came before it was final, and, like many such bodies in mediæval times, from the old English county court upward, it mingled legislative, judicial, and executive functions. It

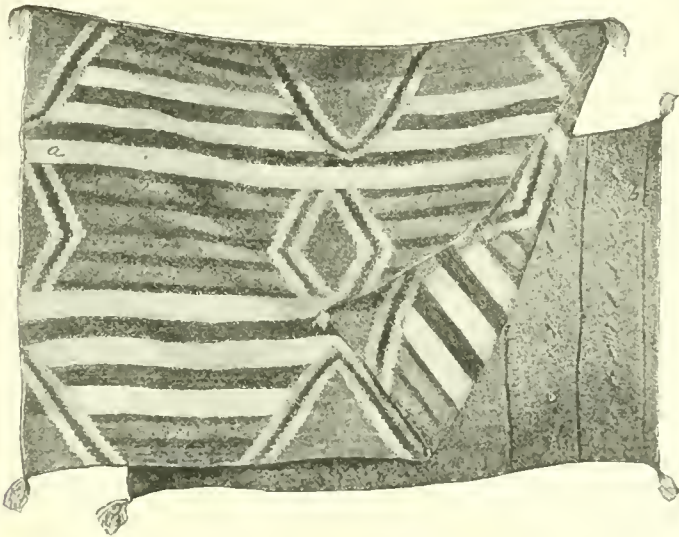


FIG. 98.—Navajo blankets. From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iii.)

made decrees, appointed the officers to execute them, and sat in judgment on cases arising from them. In the course of time it became customary to appoint to this council men who had served with distinction in some public capacity in the New World.

For the especial supervision of trade and finance, a second body was created, which had its seat at Seville, and has been commonly known in English as the India House. It was organized in 1503. We must be careful not to conceive of the work of this body as exclusively commercial. In some respects it stood in the relation of a subordinate agency to the Council of the Indies. This India House

combined executive, judicial, and legislative functions to a considerable extent, for it could make regulations and enforce them, while it also enforced the decrees of the council. It also took judicial cognizance of all manner of offences, from frauds and forgeries to cases of murder or simple assault and battery perpetrated on shipboard. Practically, there was scarcely any well-defined limit to what it could do, but its decisions might be overruled by that of the council.



FIG. 99. Vase from Tascayan. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iv.)

Under the special control of these two ruling bodies were the various executive officers in the New World. These were usually termed governors or captains-general, or sometimes *adelantados*. In the old days of warfare against the Moors, the governor of an advanced province or frontier thrown forward against the retreating dominions of the enemy was commonly called *adelantado*, which is about equivalent to "commander of the advance." In America this title was first given to Bartholomew Columbus, and many afterward held the office. By the time the Spanish conquests were completed, it had become custom-

ary to appoint two viceroys, one for Mexico and the other for Peru, while the governors, captains-general, and adelantados of other provinces were in a measure subordinated to these. At Lima, therefore, and at the city of Mexico, there grew up small courts, pale imitations of the court at Madrid.

A very important agency in the management of affairs was the so-called *audiencia*, a kind of court for the hearing of all sorts of questions. It could assist the local governor in enforcing his authority, and it could also meddle more or less, and practically limit that authority. The plans of any governor might be very seriously

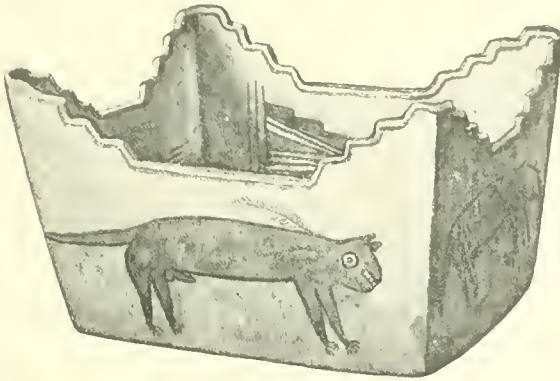


FIG. 100.—Zuni square vase. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iii.)

impeded by a hostile *audiencia*. During the absence of a governor, or during an interregnum between one governor and his successor, the whole work of government devolved upon the *audiencia*; and usually, when concerned with military matters, it illustrated the old adage that too many cooks spoil the broth. It was sometimes found more convenient to have the president of the *audiencia* assume the functions of temporary governor. Pedro de la Gasca, who suppressed the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, was such a president.

Except for such irregular and indefinite limitations as the *audiencia* might exercise, and except for such acts of sovereignty as the Council for the Indies or the India House might chose to put in operation, the power of the viceroys and governors was practically unlimited. It was pure despotism, tempered only by the things by which despotisms have in all ages been qualified: sometimes by assassination, as in the case of Pizarro; sometimes by a recall to the Old World, following upon some complaint or petition. But what the unpopular governor had most to

dread was the performance called "taking a *residencia*." This peculiar phrase occurs in the Theodosian Code in very much the same sense as that in which it was used in Spanish law. The practice had probably come down from the old Visigothic kingdom in Spain. At the end of a governor's rule he was obliged to *reside* for a certain length of time within the limits of the province which he had ruled, or perhaps within its capital city, while all persons who deemed themselves in any way wronged by him might make their complaints without fearing evil consequences from his displeasure. These complaints were usually made before a tribunal of judges appointed for the occasion. The hearing of the complaints brought before this tribunal was known as taking the *residencia* of the late governor. It can readily be seen that this device must often have made it possible to ascertain and punish cases of delinquency or misrule which otherwise might have passed unnoticed; but it was by no means true that justice was always done by these tribunals of impeachment. It was said by the Marquis de Montesclaros, one of the viceroys of Peru, that a *residenciary* visit was like one of those tropical hurricanes which sweep up from the streets every kind of dirt and refuse and heap it upon the heads of those upright persons who brave the storm. A good man armed in the panoply of a sound conscience was called upon to face the tempest, while the cunning rascal was very likely to have provided in some villainous way a shifty covering for himself. Perjury might be committed at a *residencia* as well as before ordinary courts. But the worst abuse of the *residencia* was perpetrated when it was held during a governor's active possession of his office. For example, the worst of all the Spanish governors in America, a man in comparison with whom even Nero seems almost honest and humane, was Pedrarias Davila, the one who beheaded Balboa. So heavily did rumor cry out against this man that judges were appointed to take his *residencia*; but the influence of his friends and abettors was so great that it was given out that in case of his acquittal he should resume his functions as governor. Under these circumstances the court of impeachment was duly held, and not a human being dared to bring a word of complaint before it. Thus the wretch was enabled to laugh in his sleeve at the king whom he served, as well as the people whom he fleeced and murdered.

That the Spanish government of those days should have pursued a narrowly restrictive policy in all things that relate to trade need not at all surprise us; for such was the policy then pursued by all nations, and which has not yet been fully outgrown, even by some of those who

are fond of boasting themselves free and enlightened. Seldom, however, has restriction been made so very restrictive as in the case of the Spanish colonies. In the series of prohibitions, scarcely any principle seems to have been at work except that which was followed by the Irishman at Donnybrook Fair: "Whenever you see a head, hit it." So the Spaniard acted upon the maxim, "Wherever you see a chance for anybody to trade, stop it." In the first place, there was only one port in Spain from which ships could carry merchandise to America. For more than two centuries, that one port was Seville, until in 1718 its privilege was transferred in its totality to Cadiz. Not until 1782 was this monopoly to some extent broken up and shared with other Spanish ports. At the American end of the voyage, there was scarcely more liberty than at the Spanish end. Until about 1750, it was customary to send each year one fleet to Vera Cruz, another to Porto Bello, with the mer-

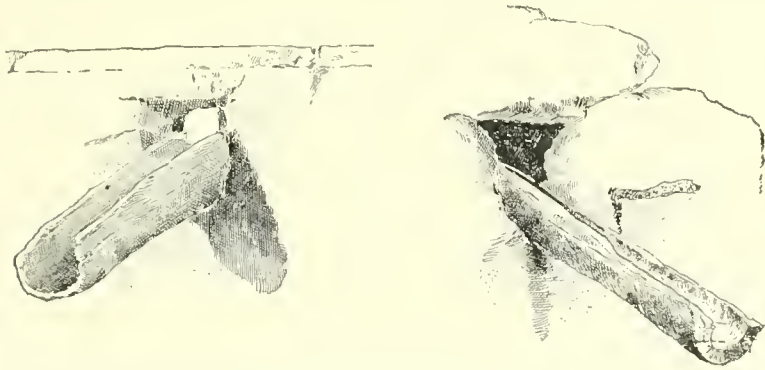


FIG. 101.—Tusayan roof-drain. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. viii.)

chandise intended for South America. Even the products designed for Buenos Ayres were obliged to cross the Isthmus to Panama, thence make the voyage to Peru, thence across the Andes and down the valley of La Plata. On the arrival of the Spanish merchant-fleet at Porto Bello, there was a forty days' fair at which all the trading between the Old and New Worlds was done once for all. Thus the monster Trade was curbed into harmless proportions, even as the mediæval clergy had tried to curb the monster War by prohibiting all fighting on three days of the week. It is hardly necessary to add that the prices of commodities were sometimes increased five hundred per cent. by these ingenious methods, which may therefore be recommended to the serious consideration of our modern protectionists. They will see that in such matters they are but awkward amateurs, while the Spaniard has been a passed

master. If one would understand the slow progress achieved in Spanish America before the nineteenth century, he will find in these circumstances a partial explanation. That the damage inflicted was not even greater may be ascribed to the fact that, in spite of all enactments, more or less of contraband trade contrived to flourish.

In this grudging and niggardly exchange of commodities, most manufactured articles used in America were brought from the Old World. The return cargoes contained many American products—lumber, hides, tobacco, sugar, rum, dye-woods, etc. ; but the article in greatest demand was that yellow metal which the Cuban chief called the Spaniard's god. The white metal, silver, was also highly prized ; and at an early date the discovery of native mines of quicksilver, which was so useful in reducing the ores, vastly increased the output of the mines at Potosi. The result was that Spain was deluged with gold and silver, which were thence poured over all Europe in such a volume that their purchasing power rapidly and steadily depreciated to an extent which may best be understood when we say that the English pound, which is now about equivalent to five American dollars, was, in the age of Henry VIII., equivalent to more than thirty such dollars. As Spain became more and more deeply engaged in wars of religion, especially after the great revolt of the Netherlands, the demands of the royal treasury became greater and greater. The sovereign's share of the produce of the mines, together with all that he could borrow from wealthy subjects, was devoted to the task of suppressing civil and religious liberty. The Dutch war alone, like a bottomless pit, swallowed up all the treasure that could be brought from the Andes, and the end of the sixteenth century saw the Spanish treasury bankrupt. Before the death of Philip II., he found himself obliged to settle all his debts with the sponge. During those long days in which the fate of humanity trembled in the balance, the annual return of the treasure-ships from Vera Cruz and Porto Bello was watched with eager eyes by daring English cruisers, and often found its way not into Spanish coffers, but into those of England, thus depriving the great Catholic power of the sinews of war.

We have now arrived at a point where we may profitably resume our sketch of Mexico after the destruction of the Lake Confederacy by Cortes. The first care of that wise and far-sighted man was to complete his conquest over the religion of Tezcatlipoca by remodelling the city of Tenochtitlan, so as to relieve it of the dark and bloody associations with which the worship of that sanguinary spirit had filled it. Radical

changes were the more easy, since the siege of the city had left the greater part of it in ruins. The principal temple was demolished, and a Christian cathedral was begun upon its very site. Among the followers of Cortes was an able missionary priest, Father Olmedo. It was not long before a number of Franciscan monks arrived from Spain, and under their advice the four quarters of the city were retained as four ecclesiastical precincts analogous to parishes. Everywhere the ministers of the new religion supplanted the unclean carrier-birds that before had held high carnival in the land. The rapidity with which the conversion of the Mexican pueblos to Christianity went on is simply marvellous; so much so, that we can best understand the episode of conquest by Cortes as an illustration of the longing which the Mexican people felt for the reform to be wrought upon the return of the long-banished Quetzalcohuatl. It is quite evident that, except among a favored class of priests, the religion of human sacrifices had become thoroughly detested, and that the people hailed the strangers as deliverers. For when we come to consider the series of events in their totality, we can almost say that the white men had only to show themselves in order to be welcomed. Nor did the introduction of *encomiendas*, involving the enslavement of so many Indians, materially alter the situation. Indians had been slaves before; and whatever cruelties might be inflicted by Spanish taskmasters, they seemed mild when set off against the lurid background that had preceded. Moreover, Indian slavery in Mexico, even at its worst, was more carefully watched and restrained than in the earlier times in the West Indies.

In the case of Cortes, we may see exemplified some of the evil aspects of the process known as *residencia*. The Spaniards who came flocking to Mexico, immediately upon the news of its subjection by Cortes, were a somewhat unruly rabble, intent upon gathering riches without labor. In Cortes, such men found a ruler inclined to be strict in discipline and humane in policy; and his efforts to check the evils that sprang up with the *encomiendas* naturally brought him many enemies. For similar reasons, the Franciscan monks, whom the natives seem to have welcomed so readily, were not altogether liked by unscrupulous slaveholders. The

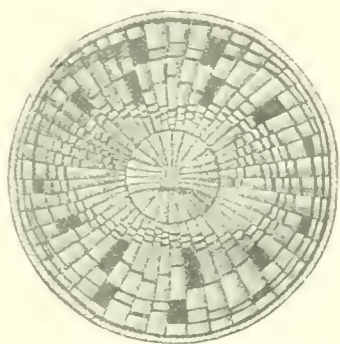


FIG. 102.—Moki tray. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. vi.)

air teemed with accusations against Cortes, many of which were clearly unfounded, while others rested upon a distortion of facts. In 1528, the emperor sent out an *audiencia* to supervise the affairs of Mexico, and to this body he gave authority to take a *residencia* of Cortes, who was thus practically superseded in his government. The practical result was a desultory inquiry kept up for several years, in course of which the Franciscan monks and the first Bishop of Mexico, the excellent Juan de Zumarraga, warmly espoused the side of Cortes. So bitter grew the feeling that the auditors hostile to Cortes, as well as his enemies generally, accused him of being in league with the clergy to assume supreme control over the country, while, on the other hand, the bishop went so far as to excommunicate sundry of the auditors for contumelious be-

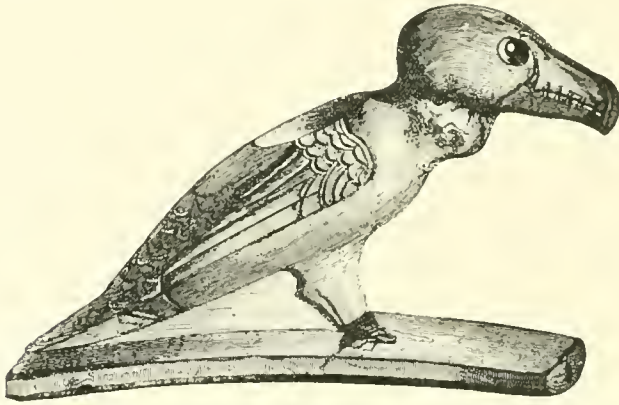


FIG. 103. Indian carvings, Mississippi Valley. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. ii.)

havior toward the church. The fact that, under such circumstances, little or nothing was proved against Cortes affords a strong presumption of his innocence. At length, on going to Spain, he was received by the emperor with great cordiality; he was created Marquis del Valle de la Oajaca, to which title was attached a vast and substantial estate a few miles southwest of the city of Mexico. A cross which the emperor set up to mark the eastern boundary of this grant is still to be seen at the place to which it has given its name, Cruz del Marques, or Marquis' Cross. But, in spite of these marks of esteem, it is evident that the emperor had grown jealous of him. In 1535, that monarch had become convinced that the attempt to govern Mexico by *audiencias* was not a success. He therefore determined to appoint a viceroy. One would naturally suppose that this would have been Cortes himself, as being

perhaps the ablest of all the emperor's subjects, to say nothing of the fact that it was he who had won the country for Spain. Instead, however, the viceroy sent was Don Antonio de Mendoza, who, though not a man of the calibre of Cortes, had an excellent record in the wars against the Moors, and proved himself a large-minded and capable administrator. Under him, Cortes retained the office of captain-general, and in that capacity was employed in making new explorations. He discovered the peninsula now called Lower California, and partially explored the Gulf. But the limitations upon his authority caused inevitable annoyance in the prosecution of such work.

Presently Cortes returned to Spain, and took part in the great expedition against Algiers in 1541. The proper place for such a man would have been at the head of such an expedition; it has been thought that in that case the mischief of Algerine piracy might have been brought to an end in the sixteenth century instead of the nineteenth, but such speculations are of little use. In point of fact, his advice was disregarded, the expedition failed, and much bad blood came from it. Cortes afterward returned to his Spanish estates and lived in seclusion for the brief remainder of his life. There is a story that one day he pressed through a crowd to the emperor's carriage and mounted upon its steps, whereat Charles, for the moment not recognizing him, exclaimed, "Who is this man that makes so free with me?" to which Cortes replied, "I am the man who has given you more kingdoms than your ancestors left you cities." He died in 1547, at the age of sixty-two. His remains were first placed in the private tomb of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia; but afterward a wish which he had once been heard to express was fulfilled by removing the remains to Mexico, where they were buried in the Church of St. Francis at Tezucuo. In 1629, his grandson, through a son of the devoted Marina, was buried in the monastery of St. Francis in the city of Mexico, and thither the bones of the illustrious grandfather were conveyed. Once more they were removed in 1794, to a neighboring church, which Cortes himself had founded; but during the Mexican war of liberation in 1823, they were taken up and hidden, lest the angry mob might desecrate the tomb of the man who had first brought Spaniards to Mexico. After this, yet another journey was in store for these poor remnants of the structure which had once enclosed a great spirit. Once more they crossed the Atlantic, and now rest in Italy, in the tomb of the Monteleones, a family which traces its descent from the conqueror of Mexico.

We have lately remarked upon the readiness with which the Mexicans

accepted Christianity. The sway which the monks came to exercise over the minds of the natives was quite remarkable. To this we owe some of our best remaining sources of information regarding the ancient Aztec society. Among these monks were several trained scholars and keen observers, and through their influence with the Indians they collected many facts and traditions of priceless value. It is a pity that, with some of the Spanish authorities, superstitious fanaticism should have reached such a point as to burn in the public squares old manuscripts written in Mexican hieroglyphics. Such strange characters seemed to the Spaniards to be works of the devil, capable of propagating witchcraft. The loss of such monuments is highly deplorable.



FIG. 104.- Wolpi water vase. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. ii.)

Among the stories told of these Franciscans, there are one or two so characteristic as to be worth repeating here. A few miles to the southwest of Vera Cruz, and on the circuitous route which the traveller from that city to Mexico takes through the mountains, is a city called La Puebla, the capital of a province of the same name. In the year 1530, it occurred to Father Motolinia to build a city somewhere on that route, as a resting-place for travellers; and as this particular site was revealed to him in a dream, he called it "La Puebla de los Angeles," or the Town of the Angels. In the building of the place, we find several thousand Tlascalans employed under the guidance of Christian priests.

Another story relates to Our Lady of Guadeloupe. On the main-

land, at the end of the northern causeway from Tenochtitlan, there had formerly stood a heathen temple for the worship of a female deity called Tonantzin, Mother of the Gods. It was perfectly natural that, under the new dispensation, this should become a temple of the Virgin, just in the same way that, in the early days of the Christian Church, the worship of Our Lady succeeded in some places the ancient worship of the Berecynthian Mother. It was also natural that the change should be attended by one of those pretty legends in which ecclesiastical history abounds. On a winter day late in 1530, as a converted Aztec was passing this spot, strains of music fell upon his ears, and the heavenly face of the Virgin appeared before him. She told him that a chapel must be built upon the site of the ancient temple. When the Aztec, whose name was Diego, reported this to Bishop Zumarraga, he found that prelate somewhat in the mood of doubting Thomas, and proofs of the story were requested. At the earliest opportunity, Diego returned to the spot where Our Lady had appeared to him, and there again he found her. She told him to cut some flowers which were miraculously growing out of a neighboring rock, to wrap them in his cloak, and show them to the bishop. Returning to the city, Diego told this incident to Zumarraga, and then unfolded his cloak, when lo! no flowers were visible, but, instead of them, a lifelike and enchanting portrait of Our Lady herself. To such an argument there was no reply, and forthwith upon the heathen site the Church of Our Lady of Guadeloupe was erected. There, over the chief altar, may still be seen, appropriately framed, the garment of Diego, with the miraculous portrait still luminous upon it. In the revolutionary war which established the independence of Mexico, Our Lady of Guadeloupe was made the especial patroness of the Mexicans, and her church has been since 1824 one of the principal shrines in the country.

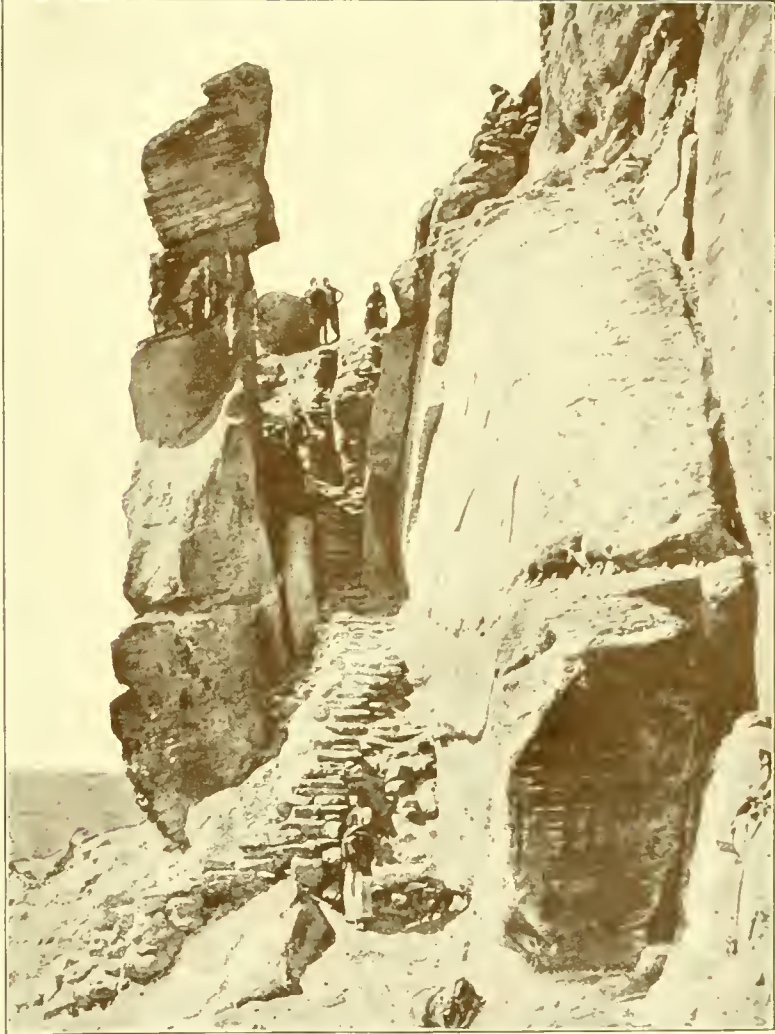
The administration of Mendoza, the first viceroy, was distinguished for rapid advances in the new civilization. The viceroy brought with him from Spain a printing-press, and in the year 1536 the city of Mexico saw the first book printed in the New World. This was just 103 years before the establishment of the first English press in America, which was set up by Stephen Daye in Cambridge in 1639. Under Mendoza, great progress was also made in agriculture and mining, as well as in the rearing of merino sheep lately brought from Spain, and in the weaving of cloth from their wool. During this period also comes the activity of Las Casas in Mexico, where his efforts were nobly re-enforced by those of the monks of various orders—Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian.

In 1550, Mendoza was succeeded by Don Luis de Velasco, who had been powerfully influenced by Las Casas, so that he forthwith proceeded to set free more than 100,000 Indians who were employed in digging gold; remarking, as he did so, that these poor human souls were of more value in the sight of God than even the needs of the Spanish exchequer.

It is not worth our while to give the names of all the sixty-two viceroys who governed Mexico down to the present century. For such matters, the reader may easily consult any of the special histories of Mexico. But some special topics call for mention, among them the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in 1571, under the fourth viceroy, Martin de Almanza. As Velasco has come down in history as "The Emancipator," so Almanza is remembered as "The Inquisitor," though we have no reason to suppose that he was especially responsible for bringing that horrible institution across the Atlantic. The Inquisition was established at about the same time in Mexico and in Peru. The first *auto da fe* was held at Lima in 1573, and in the city of Mexico in 1574. The headquarters of the Inquisitor-general for the whole of America, as well as for the Philippine Islands, was in the city of Mexico; but his jurisdiction extended only over white men. Of course, heresy and insubordination, free thought and free speech, to say nothing of witchcraft, must be extirpated in the white race at whatever cost; but Indians were judiciously exempted from the rule of the Inquisition, and the methods of Las Casas were followed, according to which the best remedy for erring souls was patient argument and gentle persuasion. Had it not been for such exemption, perhaps that population of fierce warriors might not have been so easily controlled. With all his zeal for the church, the Spanish ecclesiastic was not utterly destitute of worldly wisdom.

The bringing of the Inquisition to New Spain (as Mexico was then called) was a melancholy event; but the mischief it worked was probably small, when brought into comparison with the wholesale human sacrifices and the disgusting cannibalism of previous ages. The system of government secured by the Inquisition was nevertheless an irksome despotism, which in course of time was likely to end in revolution. The record of the successive vicerealties down to the end of the Hapsburg rule in Spain was chiefly a monotonous story of provincial life, unrelieved by any spirit of progress. In all that period there are perhaps but two events which need mention in this place. One is the building of the magnificent cathedral which stands just behind the site

PLATE XI.



Foot-trail to Wolpi.

From Powell, "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. viii.

of the old one, which was erected exactly upon the site of the ancient temple. The new cathedral is worthy of mention as a work of art. Its building began in 1573, and it was not until 1667 that it reached something like its present stage of completeness.

The other event was the construction of great works of engineering, for the purpose of restraining the waters of the neighboring lakes. The drainage of the lake upon which the city stood proved at times insufficient to prevent inundations; and for this purpose, in 1608, a tunnel was begun for drawing off the waters of Lake Zumpango, the most elevated of the series. A few years afterward, an eminent Dutch engineer who came to inspect the situation recommended that dikes be built between Zumpango and the Lake of Tenochtitlan, in order to catch the overflow from the upper lake and prevent it from pouring down on the city. These dikes were built; but in 1629, for some reasons not well understood, the mouth of the tunnel was unwisely closed up, and accordingly at the next period of excessive rains the dikes proved inadequate to restrain the overflow from Zumpango, which poured over them and inundated the city of Mexico, with great destruction of life and property. This calamity led to further engineering work for the drainage of that watery valley, in the course of which, we are told, the labor of man was assisted by earthquakes, which opened deep rifts in the ground and thus facilitated the subsidence of the surface waters.



FIG. 105. Zuñi warshield. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. ii.)

It is now time for us to mention the explorations and attempts at settlement made by Spaniards upon what is now the soil of the United States. Such expeditions were set on foot either in Mexico or in the West India islands. We have seen how, in all probability, Americus Vesputius, in company with Vincent Pinzon, circumnavigated the coast of Florida in 1498, and thus demonstrated the insularity of Cuba. Although that voyage left its traces for many years upon European maps, it was not followed up because it found no traces of gold, and so became completely forgotten, inasmuch that it has become one of the

commonplaces of history that the insularity of Cuba was first detected in 1508 by Sebastian de Ocampo. This we now know to be false, like so many commonplaces, since the maps of La Cosa, Cantino, and Canerio prove that the insularity of Cuba was known to some Europeans before 1500. Nevertheless, since Florida had been forgotten, it must needs be discovered anew; and this was accomplished by a veteran cavalier, Juan Ponce de Leon, who landed in Florida on Easter Sunday of the year 1513. In Spanish, that festival is known as *Pascua Florida*, or Flowery Passover; and in accordance with a prevailing custom, Juan Ponce named the country Florida. For nearly a century, we find this name used with a very wide and vague meaning, sometimes including the whole of North America so far as known, or, at all events, that portion of it along the Atlantic coast, with indefinite inward extension. By and by, when the English settled in Virginia, the limits of Florida were greatly narrowed.

When Juan Ponce landed in Florida, he supposed it to be an Asiatic country, and wandered a while in quest of a magic fountain, of which he had read in a curious collection of travellers' fables compiled in the fourteenth century by a certain Jean de Bourgogne, and popularly known as the *Travels of Mandeville*. By drinking of this fountain, it was supposed that old cavaliers might be made young again. Juan Ponce never found it; but, while leading a party of colonists into Florida, eight years later, he was attacked by the natives and slain. Two years before this catastrophe, an explorer named Pineda had entered the mouth of a large river, which has generally been identified with the Mississippi, and this opinion still seems to me preferable to a recent theory which would identify it with the Mobile River. Pineda had some stories to tell about gold trinkets, and thus awakened some interest in the country north of the Gulf of Mexico.

Further interest was aroused by the search for a northwest passage, which began soon after the return of Magellan's last ship to Spain had proved that a continuous coast-line from Florida to Patagonia was interposed as an obstacle to the voyage between Western Europe and Eastern Asia. This discovery led to fresh attempts to explore the American coast north of Florida. Thus, in 1521, Vasquez d'Ayllon was drawn to Chesapeake Bay, where he undertook to found a colony. Two years later, he began to build a town named San Miguel upon the James River, not far from the spot where the beginnings of Virginia were afterward made by the English. But to those great enemies, famine and the Indians, this colony soon succumbed, as that of Virginia afterward came so near doing.

The mention of gold trinkets worn by natives on the Mississippi River set in motion a new expedition from Cuba in 1528. This was commanded by Panfilo de Narvaez. His little fleet was wrecked at the mouth of the Mississippi River, and all the party were lost save four men, one of whom was a negro. Another was one of the principal officers of the expedition, named Cabeza de Vaca. After a long series of romantic adventures, involving strange perils and almost incredible suffering, this little party succeeded in reaching the Spanish frontier in

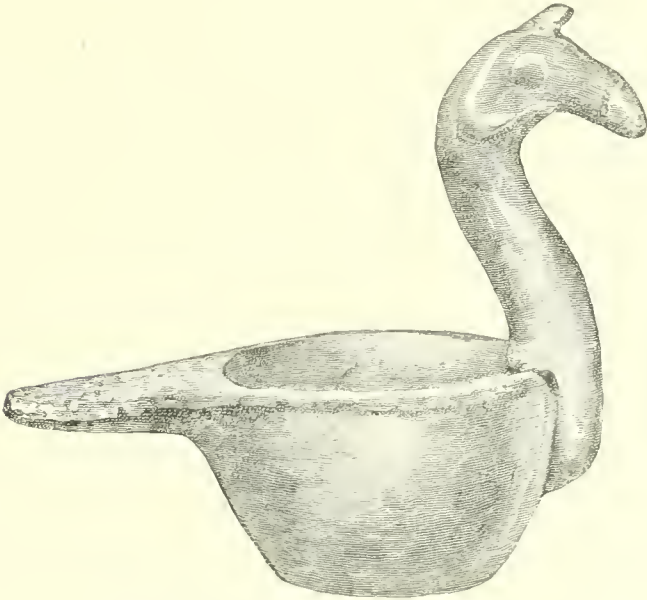


FIG. 106.—Bird-shaped bowl, from Arkansas

Mexico. The length of their overland journey was not less than 2000 miles.

Certain hearsay reports brought by these wanderers to their friends in Mexico created a hope of finding gold at the north; and accordingly, in 1539, Fray Marcos de Nizza started northward with a small force and the negro who had accompanied Cabeza de Vaca. This party succeeded in reaching one of the Zuñi pueblos, where they were not allowed to enter. The Zuñis killed the negro; and Fray Marcos, who had not force enough to try conclusions with them, thought it best to retreat. These incidents led to the sending out of another expedition the next year; this was a force of 300 Spaniards and about 800 Mexican warriors, led by Francisco de Coronado. It was nearly two years before this

expedition returned to Mexico. They had been far to the north, probably as far as the Platte River. They had spent some time among the Moki and Zuñi pueblos, but they had found no gold, so that the expedition was considered a failure; mere geographical knowledge was not what these early explorers wanted.

While Coronado was wandering over the lofty tablelands a thousand miles west of the Mississippi, another brave Spaniard was making his way through parts of the continent east of that great river. Fernando de Soto, who had served with distinction under Pizarro, was in 1537 appointed governor of Cuba. Two years afterward, he landed in Florida with a force of some 600 men and more than 200 horses. His hope

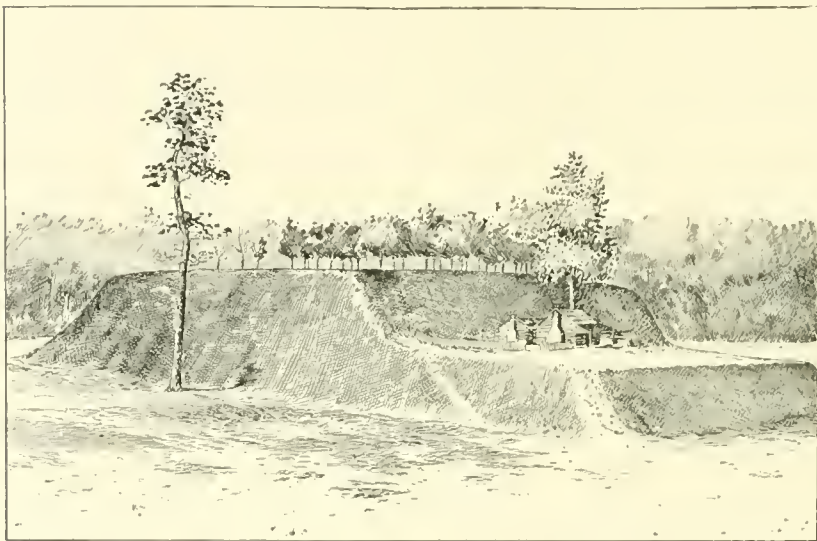


FIG. 107. De Soto mound, Arkansas. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xii.)

was to find, somewhere to the north of Cuba, another golden kingdom, like that which he had formerly taken part in conquering. In this hope, he advanced northward as far as the Savannah River, and then, turning to the west, he marched across the continent as far as the Mississippi, somewhere near the site of Vicksburg. This march was attended with some severe fighting, especially at the Mobile River, in which he lost nearly one-third of his force. After exploring the Mississippi River for perhaps 1000 miles of its crooked course, and after making excursions into the country west of it, Soto's party, weary and disappointed, shaped their course down-stream for the Gulf of Mexico. On the way,

PLATE XII.



Engraved copper-plate from the Etowah mound, Georgia.

From Powell, "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xii.

their commander died, and was buried in the river, lest the Indians should desecrate his remains. Little more than half of the party survived to reach the coast of Mexico.

With these expeditions of Soto and Coronado, the work of Spanish exploration in North America practically ends. Their most notable action within what is now the territory of the United States was their brief collision with the French in Florida; but, before recounting this, it will be necessary for us to describe the beginnings of French enterprise in America.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW FRANCE.

PROBABLY the oldest European name on any part of the Atlantic coast of North America is Cape Breton, and in that name some history is implied. Although the two voyages of the Cabots revealed no gold upon the North American coast, they did reveal the existence of the rich fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland, and it was not long before the hardy sailors of Normandy and Brittany and the Biscayan provinces of Spain began coming yearly to catch fish in these waters. Since 1503 or 1504, there has probably been not a year in which the French flag has failed to show itself upon the Banks of Newfoundland. The name of Cape Breton is a memorial of these early voyages. In 1508, two Norman ships from Dieppe explored some portions of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and carried home seven Indians, of whom a Parisian chronicle published in 1512 gives us a lively description. The captain of one of these ships was a native of Florence, named Giovanni da Verrazano. In 1524, this captain again crossed the Atlantic in his good ship, the *Dolphin*. His first landing was on the North Carolina coast, a little north of the Cape Fear River. He did not mistake this land for a part of the coast of Asia, for the recent voyage of Magellan had revealed the enormous breadth of the Pacific Ocean. To Verrazano, it seemed a new land. He at least knew of no predecessor who had visited it, and so he called it simply *The New Land*. His object was to find a strait or passage through this land, by which he might reach Asia. With this end in view, he skirted the coast northward as far as the harbor of New York, which he entered. He seems to have sailed a short distance up the Hudson River without mistaking it for a strait. Turning out to sea again, he passed along the southern coast of Long Island, spent some time in Narragansett Bay, circumnavigated Cape Cod, saw the snow-clad peaks of the White Mountains in the distance, and followed the coast of Maine as far as the mouth of the Penobscot, at which point he gave up the quest and returned to France. In the years 1526 and 1527, two charts were made which represent the coast explored on this voyage. One of these

was made by the navigator's brother, Girolamo da Verrazano, and the other by Vesconte di Maiollo. The details of the voyage are given in a letter from the navigator to King Francis I. In 1527, Verrazano was again upon the coast of North America, where he was captured by Spaniards and hanged as a pirate; for such was the name which they applied to all intruders upon the territory granted to Spain by Pope Alexander VI.

One of the most interesting results of Verrazano's voyage was a colossal blunder which first appeared on the two maps just mentioned, and was propagated by sundry other maps until the close of the sixteenth century. This was the supposed discovery of a vast body of water known as the "Sea of Verrazano." On these old maps, it occupies the entire space actually filled by the North American continent north of Virginia. Even after the journeys of Soto and Coronado had proved the existence of a continental mass stretching from Florida to California, the maps cut off this continent abruptly at about the thirty-seventh parallel, leaving only a narrow isthmus communicating with a narrow strip of Atlantic territory extending as far north as Labrador. All the region west of this strip and north of the thirty-seventh parallel they cover with the Sea of Verrazano, which they regard as continuous with the Pacific Ocean. It seems probable that this blunder arose from a misunderstood observation. If Verrazano landed on the Accomac peninsula and explored the country, a walk of very few miles would have brought him to the shore of Chesapeake Bay; and since he could not see the land on the other side, he was likely to regard that water as part of a western ocean. Indeed, his brother's map has an inscription which informs us that this isthmus between the two oceans is only six miles wide. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the error must have arisen in some such way; but however that may have been, the error continued for a long time to affect men's minds and influence their actions.

Seven years after the untimely death of Verrazano, another bold navigator came on a voyage of discovery to the North American coast. This was Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo in Brittany. Cartier (Fig. 108), arriving at the Labrador coast, came through the Straits of Belle Isle and skirted the inner coast of Newfoundland until a westward shifting of his course brought him past the Magdalen Islands to Prince Edward's Island. Thence, keeping to the northward, he arrived on a July day at the Bay of Chaleur, which he named from the scorching heat. Thence, after exploring the coast of Anticosti Island, he passed again

through the Straits of Belle Isle and returned to France. He had found neither gold nor a northwest passage, but did not despair of finding the latter; and so in the next year, 1535, he started once more with three vessels. This time he entered the great gulf by the same strait as before, but passed between Anticosti Island and the mainland to the north of it, and so at length entered the mighty river St. Lawrence, which far more than any other North American river impresses one sailing on it with a sense of the vastness and power of water. It was



FIG. 108.—Jacques Cartier. (From Shea's edition of Charlevoix.)

not strange that Cartier's hopes should here have been excited with the prospect of finding a passage to the western sea; but to his experienced eye the gradual narrowing of the stream and the freshening of the water were not encouraging symptoms. He passed the Saguenay and approached the site of Quebec, and in that neighborhood found the Indian village of Stadacona. Thence with one of the ships he continued to ascend until he reached the site of Montreal, where he found a Huron-Iroquois village named Hochelaga (Fig. 199). It was a circular palisaded village situated near the base of the high hill that now overlooks the city, and it was

encompassed by cultivated fields of maize, pumpkins, and beans. Upon the inner side of the palisaded wall there was a gallery, upon which at intervals lay piles of stones ready for hurling at an approaching enemy. When Cartier and his comrades were admitted into this village, they found in the centre of it an open space for gatherings of the people, similar to a market-place or forum. There they were treated like superior beings. The Huron chief wore upon his head a wreath, which he lifted and placed upon the brow of Cartier. Sick and decrepit Indians were brought for the white strangers to heal them by touching. After this, there was some trading and exchange of trinkets, as usual in such

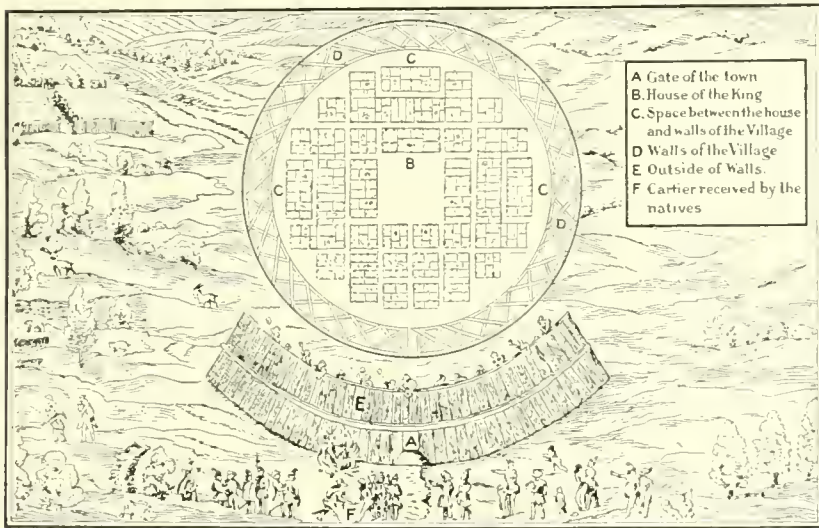


FIG. 109. —Cartier's reception at Hochelaga. ("Magazine of American History," vol. xxvi.)

cases. Cartier was so impressed with the noble hill to which he had come that he called it *Mont Royale*, a name which was afterward given to the city founded there by Champlain. Returning from this place to *Stadacona*, these Frenchmen passed the winter there, and in the spring they returned to France.

While this voyage could hardly be called a brilliant success, yet King Francis felt sufficiently hopeful to try once more. He began by calling the newly discovered wilderness a viceroyalty, and appointed as his viceroy a gentleman from Picardy, whose name was Roberval. The new fleet was ready in the spring of 1541; and as the viceroy had not completed his preparations, Cartier sailed without him. *Stadacona* and

Hochelaga were revisited, and a fort was built near Cape Rouge, which Cartier called Charlesbourg. In the summer of 1542, Roberval arrived just as Cartier was starting on his return to France. Cartier was not satisfied with the kind of men he had with him. In order to recruit the expedition, the king had released criminals from the jails; and Cartier found it so difficult to work with such materials that he went home discouraged, leaving Roberval to work out his own salvation. The viceroy could afford to let him go, because in his own little fleet was one of the greatest pilots of the age, the celebrated Jean Allefonsee, a native of Saintonge. Roberval reached the fort at Charlesbourg and strengthened its defences, and, while he was making an expedition somewhere into the wilderness, he sent Allefonsee to explore the neighboring coasts. In the course of the summer of 1542, that hardy mariner explored in some detail the coast of Massachusetts Bay, and seems even to have gone as far as the Hudson River, probably approaching it through Long Island Sound. He tells us that he ascended the river of Norumbega and found the water tasting salt at a distance of ninety miles from the sea, a statement which would be true of the Hudson and of no other river in the neighborhood of New England. He speaks also of a French fort of Norumbega and an Indian village, which was apparently situated on Manhattan Island, near the site of Five Points. From his narrative, we also learn that French traders had lately built a fort near the site of Albany, where they traded with the Mohawks for furs. These statements indicate that the discoveries of Verrazano had been more closely followed up by French traders than has hitherto been supposed. Altogether, this voyage of Allefonsee was the most interesting incident in Roberval's expedition, which presently abandoned its enterprise and retired from the scene.

After the return of Roberval to France, very little more was done in the line of maritime discovery. The last half of the sixteenth century was a time in which all the energies of the French government and the French people were consumed in the deadly wars of religion which ended with the triumph of Henry IV. in 1594. But in this period, so barren in trans-Atlantic adventure, there comes one interesting episode—namely, the attempt to found a Protestant colony in the New World. By founding such a Protestant state, it would be possible to secure for Huguenots, in case of defeat, a refuge from oppression; and moreover, such a state might be of great strategic advantage, from its position with reference to the route of the treasure-ships that brought from America to Spain the sinews of war. Just how far this thought

was matured in the mind of the great Huguenot leader, Coligny, one cannot say ; but in its main outlines the thought originated with him, and it was from this thought that originated the United States of America, though that work was to be carried out by Englishmen, and not by Frenchmen. After the failure of Coligny's scheme, it was taken up by Sir Walter Raleigh.

Coligny made two attempts, both of which show a sublime disregard for papal bulls. The first attempt was on the eastern side of Borgia's meridian, the second was to the west of it. The first one encroached upon the claims of Portugal ; the second, upon those of Spain. In 1555, Coligny sent Nicholas de Villegagnon to the coast of Brazil, where a rude village was built on the site of Rio de Janeiro. But after a couple of years of wretchedness the greater part of the people perished, and the rest were killed by the Portuguese.

Coligny's second attempt was more luridly disastrous. He sent out a small fleet under Jean Ribaut in 1562. This resulted in the building of a small fort at what is now Port Royal in South Carolina, but the enterprise was ended by starvation. Once more, in 1564, the attempt was repeated. A much larger expedition was sent out under Coligny's kinsman, Laudonniere, who was presently to be followed by Ribaut with reinforcements. Laudonniere's party landed at the mouth of St. John's River in Florida, and built a fort there, which they called Fort Caroline after the French king, Charles IX. The usual tale of famine, mutiny, and broils with the Indians followed. When things were looking blackest, the great English sailor, Sir John Hawkins, looked in upon this woe-begone party and left them food and wine. This visit powerfully interested Englishmen in the shocking event which followed, and unquestionably exerted an influence upon the schemes of Raleigh.

News of this audacious intrusion by French heretics had reached the ears of that terrible Spanish king, Philip II., and he was prompt to act in the matter. He sent out Pedro Menendez with eleven ships, carrying more than 1000 soldiers, besides their crews. Ribaut's fleet arrived off the St. John's River on one of the last days of August, 1565 ; and six days later, the squadron of Menendez appeared upon the scene. It was an anxious moment for both parties. After reconnoitring the situation, Menendez declined to fight, and, moving away for a few miles, began building the town of St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States. Then, taking advantage of a storm which prevented Ribaut's ships from landing their forces, he marched through the wilderness, came unexpectedly upon Fort Caroline, took it in a

sudden attack, and massacred all the inmates, without regard to age or sex, save only Landonniere himself and half a dozen others, who escaped to the woods. Some of these fugitives, in course of time, made their way back to France. Ribaut now remained to be disposed of. A few miles to the south of St. Augustine, there is a deep indentation of the coast, known as Matanzas Inlet, a grim name with a gruesome legend. Wherever you see the name "Matanzas" upon the map, it commemorates some scene of bloodshed, for the word simply means "slaughterings." While Menendez was in search of Ribaut, their parties encountered each other on the opposite shores of this densely wooded inlet. Menendez was not sure of success in open fight, so he had recourse to stratagem. He sent messengers across the strip of water, who informed the Huguenot leader of the capture of his fort and the slaughter of his friends; then by soothing words, not unmingled with fair promises, he lured across the inlet the foremost party of these Frenchmen, some 300 in all. They were led to believe that their only hope of safety lay in surrender. As they stepped ashore from their boats, they were seized and bound, and presently were murdered in cold blood, every man of them. It was not long before Ribaut himself, with another force of 300, arrived on the opposite shore. The same trickery was tried as before, but this time with only partial success. About half of the French party preferred to try their fortune in the woods; the others thought it wiser to trust in the Spaniard's soft words. They crossed the inlet and put themselves in the power of Menendez, who treated them as he had treated their fellows. All but half a dozen were slain; a few succeeded in escaping, including one boy who had been left for dead, but succeeded in crawling away and afterward recovered from his wounds.

It will be observed that this piece of butchery occurred at a time when the governments of France and Spain were at peace with each other. It was not preceded by any declaration of war, nor was it followed by one; for Charles IX. was afraid of Philip II., and this the Spanish king and Menendez well knew. But they presumed too much upon the forbearance of the French people. It apparently had not occurred to them that there might be men in France who were not afraid of the Spanish autocrat. It is an interesting commentary upon the state of society at that time, that vengeance for this deed of blood came at the hands of a private gentleman, who was obliged to sell his ancestral estate in order to obtain the needful money. This gentleman was Dominique de Gourgues, who does not appear to have been a

Protestant. He was a Frenchman; that was enough for him. In 1567, two years after the affair at Matanzas Inlet, Gourgues set sail upon the Atlantic with a force of about 200 men, besides the crews. His ostensible purpose was to catch negroes on the coast of Africa; but after a while he headed for Florida, arriving on the coast near St. Augustine in the summer of 1568. Circumstances played into his hands, for the Indians of the neighborhood were only awaiting a favorable opportunity to attack the Spaniards. Thus heavily reinforced by these dusky allies, Gourgues surprised the Spanish fort, carried it by storm, and slaughtered all its inmates, with the exception of a dozen or twenty. He had been told that Menendez had hanged a few of his prisoners to trees, on one of which he had nailed a board with the inscription: "I do this not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." To this sentiment, the Frenchman now retorted in kind; for after hanging his prisoners whom he had reserved, he nailed up a board with the inscription: "I do this not as to Spaniards, but as to liars and murderers." Thus having made a peaceful solitude, this stern knight-errant returned to his native land.

These lurid scenes in Florida mark the last moments of Spanish aggressive energy in the New World. They were contemporaneous with the beginnings of that great revolt of the Netherlands, against which Spain exhausted her energies in contending. That revolt, which began to assume formidable proportions in 1568, developed into a great European war, which was not ended until 1648; and at the latter date, it began to be generally recognized that Spain was no longer one of the great powers of Europe. The exhaustion of energy during the first forty years of this period was rapid, and then the Spanish government hit upon a suicidal remedy. It was sagely concluded that God did not allow Spaniards to suppress heresy in the Netherlands, because of their wickedness in tolerating the presence of unbelievers in Spain. The unbelievers in this precious argument were the Christianized descendants of the Moors. They were the children and grandchildren of persons who had been converted to Christianity; but in spite of this, the Spaniards doggedly refused to regard them as anything but infidels at heart. Accordingly, in 1609, the kingdom was purified by an edict commanding the expulsion of all these people. Thus, more than a million industrious and law-abiding citizens were torn from their homes and carried over to Morocco, under circumstances of extreme brutality. It has been estimated that the number of lives wantonly destroyed in this pro-

ceeding exceeds the number of the victims of St. Bartholomew in France. The consequences of this gigantic crime were fatal to Spain. The banished people supported several of the chief industries of the kingdom, and their expulsion was rapidly visited with financial ruin. It was not many years before famine attacked the land. There was a partial disorganization of society; and extensive districts, once cultivated, lapsed into wilderness. Under these conditions, we need not be surprised at the lull which came upon Spanish activity in America. Henceforth the efforts of that misguided country were mainly directed to wringing revenue from her American possessions.



FIG. 110.—Samuel de Champlain. (From the Hamel portrait, engraved in Charlevoix, "*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*.")

We have already remarked upon the lull in French maritime enterprise, which was due to the wars of the League. As soon as peace was finally secured by the entry of Henry IV. into Paris in 1594, and the treaty of Vervins in 1598, that maritime enterprise at once sprang up again with renewed vigor. The great king made up his mind to plant a French colony on the St. Lawrence; and the person whom he selected for this work was a mariner of St. Malo, named François Pontgravé, who had already, in one of his voyages, ascended the St. Lawrence for some distance. With Pontgravé, two partners were associated: one was

a Huguenot from Dieppe, named Pierre Chauvin; the other was a nobleman known as the Sieur de Monts. The first voyage proceeded as far as Tadoussac, where some lucrative trading was done in furs; but little was done toward the establishing of a colony.

The glory of such an achievement was reserved for Samuel de Champlain (Fig. 110), a native of Brouage, on the Bay of Biscay. Little is known of the early life of this great man. Some have supposed him to have been born of Huguenot parents; at all events, his youth was more or less subject to Protestant influences, although in later years he always figures as a very liberal Catholic. The effect of the religious wars in withdrawing people from trans-Atlantic enterprise is well illustrated in the early life of Champlain; for while he was born among mariners and was by native temperament and inclination himself a mariner, he nevertheless passed his youth in camps, contending on the side of the national patriotic party in France. In the army, he seems to have served at one time as quartermaster. He was interested in geography, and left behind him a manuscript discussing the possibility of finding a northern passage to Cathay.

On returning in 1602 from a voyage to the West Indies, Champlain was commissioned by the king to go to the St. Lawrence and explore the country to the best of his ability. The expedition, which sailed from Honfleur in the spring of 1603, was commanded by Pontgravé. The summer was spent in exploring the Saguenay River and the St. Lawrence as far as the Lachine Rapids. There the Indians told Champlain as best they could of the waters to the westward; they told him that by following up the river he would come out upon a large lake, into the further end of which flowed a tumultuous river, up which he could ascend a little way, but must then land and carry his canoe, because of a mighty cataract which checked the ascent of the stream. This is the first mention of Niagara Falls, which, however, Champlain was destined never to see. Beyond this cataract the Indians' knowledge did not extend; but they had heard from other Indians that, at the upper end of that river, there was a salt sea. By this, no doubt, Lake Erie was meant, though it is not salt; but we can understand how greatly the information must have interested the French explorer. He did not regard his equipment as adequate for a journey so far into the interior, and so returned to Saguenay, where his comrades had been gathering furs, and with a rich cargo of these the entire party sailed for France.

Already the name Canada had been applied by the French voyagers to the country along the banks of the great river. It is worthy of

notice that it is a Mohawk word, meaning "a village," or, to be very literal, "a place where they live." It was doubtless the name which Cartier had frequently heard as applied to inhabited places along the shore. The occurrence of this Mohawk word, coupled with the fact that Cartier had found a Huron-Iroquois village on the site of Montreal, indicates the presence of Iroquois in considerable numbers in this region in the middle of the sixteenth century. In Champlain's time, all the Indians of this family had disappeared from the banks of the St. Lawrence. The Hurons had retired to the eastern shore of the lake which now bears their name, while the Mohawks had concentrated themselves upon the lovely river which the railroad now follows between Schenectady and Utica, and where they formed the eastern member of the famous confederacy known as the Long House. It is a natural inference that

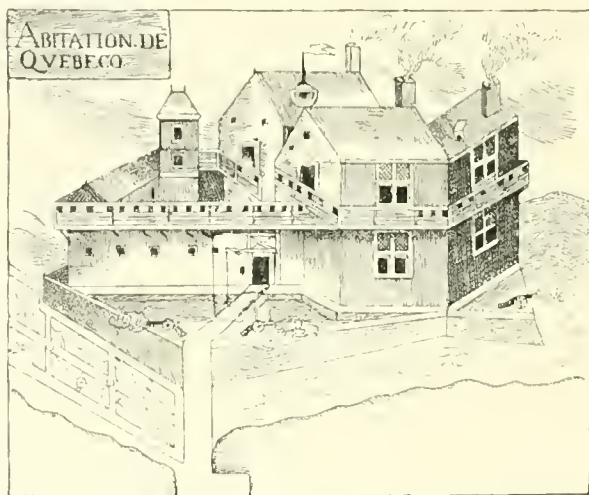


FIG. 111.—Quebec in 1608. (From Champlain's own sketch.)

for some time the Algonquin tribes of the neighborhood had proved too strong for the Iroquois. Upon the arrival of Champlain, all the St. Lawrence valley was found to be in possession of Algonquins, and the village of Hochelaga had vanished.

In 1603, Henry IV. appointed Sieur de Monts lieutenant-general of Canada, and enjoined upon him to deal with strict impartiality between Huguenots and Catholics under his command. The next year, an expedition sailed from Havre, in which were Monts, Pontgravé, and Champlain, together with the Sieur de Poutrincourt, who now first appears upon the scene. The work of this expedition was mainly the

exploration of the coasts of Nova Scotia, Maine, and Massachusetts. Champlain entered Boston harbor, and, passing to the east of the Penobscot, discovered the island which he called Mount Desert: a name which still, when properly pronounced, retains the accent on the second syllable, as a memento of its French origin. It was not until 1607 that the explorers returned to France. Again they set forth from Normandy in 1608. Monts was now made governor of Canada, with Champlain for lieutenant-governor. In the course of the summer, the first houses of Quebec (Fig. 111) were built, and there Champlain and twenty-seven others passed a wretched winter, while Pontgravé returned to France for reinforcements and supplies. Upon the return of that mariner in June, 1609, only eight of the party were found alive.

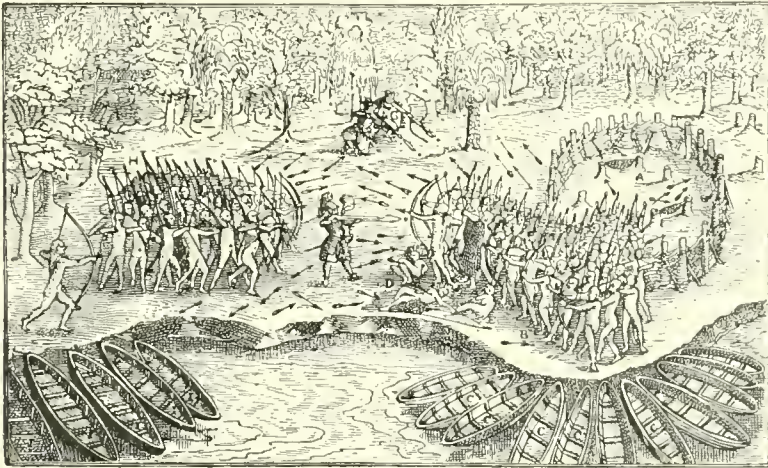


FIG. 112.—Champlain's fight with Mohawks. (From his own sketch, reproduced in Cronau's "Amerika," vol. ii.)

The arrival of Pontgravé renewed the strength of the French, and presently an event occurred which must rank as one of the most important in American history. Champlain had heard of a beautiful lake to the southwestward, as one would go toward the country of the Iroquois. In that direction he thought it possible that he might find the long-desired passage to Asia, and he made a bargain with a party of Algonquins to go along with him as guides; promising, in return for this favor, to defend them against all enemies. Besides these tawny allies, Champlain was accompanied by only two Frenchmen. They reached the beautiful lake in dre season, and ascended it in canoes, until, as they approached its southern extremity, near the point since known as

Ticonderoga, they desecrated a party of Mohawks in canoes approaching them. Both parties landed, and, in the brief fight which ensued, the Mohawks, terrified by the sight of bearded white men and by the deadly execution wrought by their arquebuses, soon turned and fled. I call this first battle of Ticonderoga one of the cardinal events in American history, because it was the beginning of a deadly feud between the French of Canada and the Long House. It brought the most powerful confederacy of Indians upon the continent into close alliance first with the Dutch, and afterward with the English of New York; and this was a factor of no small importance in the overthrow of the French power in Canada. Had it not been for this attitude of the Iroquois, as we shall hereafter see, the French might easily have acquired possession of New York and prevented the formation of an American union. One of the immediate results of Champlain's victory was the necessity which it thrust upon the French of occupying the interior country, at least as far as Lake Huron; for, as the French power on its establishment in Canada depended largely upon the northwestern fur-trade, and as the Long House was able by raids across Lake Ontario to cut off this fur-trade, it became necessary for the French to control the interior far enough to flank this line of operations.

As if this beginning of strife with the Mohawks was not enough, Champlain renewed it the following year, when he attacked the Mohawks on the river Richelieu, with such effect that not one of them got away to tell the tale. It would be idle to criticise the illustrious explorer for the ill policy of attacking these powerful Indians; for him, there was no policy in the matter. Unless he helped his Algonquin acquaintances, he could not get their aid in pursuing his explorations. During the next three years, these explorations were carried on along the valley of the Ottawa, while the fur-trade took on new dimensions, resulting in the growth of a village at Montreal on the site of the old Hochelaga. Meanwhile, the great King Henry IV. had come to an untimely end, and the Canadian enterprise, while increasing in dimensions, assumed a new form. The fur-traders with whom Champlain was associated were not sufficiently interested in supporting his work of discovery, and it became necessary for him to appeal to a very different interest. He made a successful appeal to the missionary zeal of the Récollet monks, the strictest kind of Franciscans. He knew that these missionaries would be interested in discovering and civilizing communities of red men wherever they could be found, and thus he felt that an alliance with them would be of great aid in his work. To some extent, doubtless, he

shared in this missionary zeal himself. One result of this policy was a lack of sympathy between missionaries and fur-traders, which sometimes developed into bitter antagonism, more especially as it became apparent that the aim of the Franciscans would be to educate their converts in agricultural pursuits at the expense of hunting and trapping.

With these new allies Champlain and Pontgravé returned to Canada in 1615. Champlain now engaged upon a journey of more than a thousand miles, a longer one than he had yet made. He ascended the Ottawa valley, and thence proceeded to the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, down the shore of which he proceeded to the Huron village at its southern extremity. This seemed to him a good field for missionary work, but first it was necessary to assist these barbarians in their military operations. With a large party of them, Champlain marched eastward until he reached Lake Ontario, near the site of Kingston, whence they crossed the lake in canoes and marched against a palisaded village of the Onondagas (Fig. 113) in the very centre of the dreaded Long House. This point of attack was chosen because the Hurons expected help from a force of Susquehannocks coming up from the great river upon which they have left their name. But concerted action among Indians was always difficult, and Champlain's attempts to keep discipline among his yelping forces were utterly hopeless. At sight of the hostile fortress, they were overcome with rage, and rushed at it like a parcel of howling wolves, without order or forethought. It was in vain that the Frenchmen reared a small platform after the mediæval method, from which they might command the hostile position. The Indians could not be taught how to support such an attack; and presently, growing weary, they retreated only two or three days before the arrival of the Susquehannocks. In this action Champlain was wounded and his prestige was somewhat injured. Amid such varied experiences the work of the missionaries, explorers, and fur-traders went on. In 1620, while the pilgrims at Leyden were preparing for their departure from Holland, the Franciscans in Canada built on the bank of the St. Charles River the first Christian church of New France. It was surrounded with palisades, through gaps in which small cannon frowned upon any approaching foe.

Our brief sketch of this history may pass over events until 1625, which witnessed something like a new departure in the affairs of the colony. Large numbers of Frenchmen had now come to the St. Lawrence, Huguenots as well as Catholics. The fur-trade was thriving, and some beginnings of success had been made in missionary work,

when the Franciscans began to act as all sectarians acted in those days. They petitioned Louis XIII. to have all Huguenots expelled from Canada and sent back to France. Why should such heretics be allowed to share in the profits of this enterprise? Indeed, would not the divine anger at their presence in Canada be visited upon the Franciscans in the failure of their missions? This petition was not granted, for the king was not quite ready for such a decisive break with the Protestants.

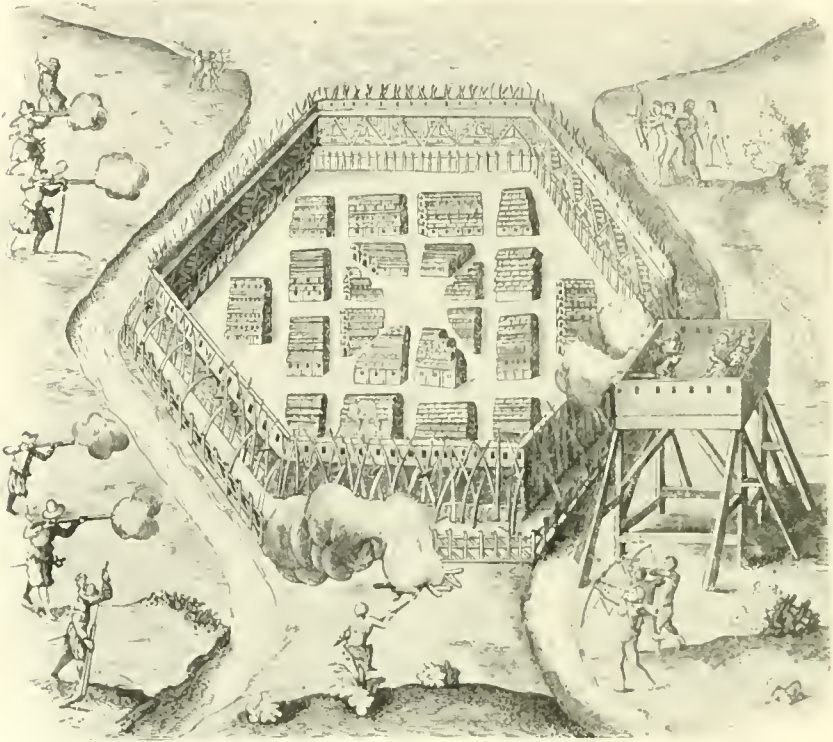


FIG. 113.— Attack on the Onondaga village. (From Champlain's sketch.)

Then the Franciscans invited Jesuits to come to their assistance, and thus called into Canada a power which soon proved greater than they could manage. In the year 1625 the first party of these Jesuits landed at Quebec, a company of able men, well educated, single in purpose, and heroic in mould. Among them were Jean de Brébeuf and Charles Lalemant, two of the most illustrious names in the history of the Church. This was the beginning of what presently developed into Jesuit supremacy in Canada, and it has furnished us with the most detailed and accurate accounts which we possess of the red men at that early day, while they

were as yet unmodified by contact with the white race. For more than a hundred years these Jesuits sent reports of their experiences to the officers of their order in France and Italy, and these reports are among the most important monuments of early American history. One of the greatest literary enterprises of our time is the publication of these reports in their original languages, with English translations and notes. This

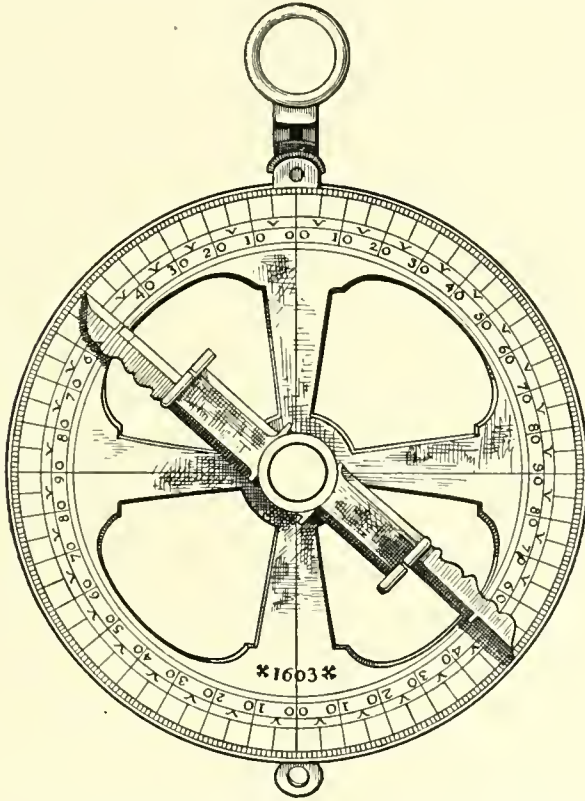


FIG. 114.—Champlain's astrolabe. ("Magazine of American History," vol. iii.)

publication, carried on at Cleveland, Ohio, numbers more than seventy volumes. It is a rich mine of information for all who would study aboriginal America.

By 1627, under the auspices of Cardinal Richelieu, a new company was formed for the prosecution of the Canadian enterprise, known as the Hundred Associates. At the same time, civil war had broken out, in which the Huguenots were fast getting worsted. Their last stronghold, Rochelle, was closely besieged; and through sympathy with the

Huguenots, England had declared war against France. As early as 1604, Poutrincourt had made a settlement at Port Royal, on the Acadian peninsula, which was the beginning of a French colony there. The King of England now granted this peninsula to Sir William Alexander, member of a Scottish family since represented by the Earls of Stirling. Hence the English came to call the peninsula by the name of Nova Scotia. A fleet was fitted out and put in command of David Kirke, son of a Derbyshire gentleman and a Huguenot lady of Dieppe. In July, 1629, this English fleet entered the St. Lawrence, defeated the French fleet which it found there, and laid siege to Quebec, which speedily surrendered, an ominous foretaste of the final catastrophe that was to come 130 years later. All the French inhabitants who thus became prisoners of war were kindly treated, and those who preferred to return to France were allowed freely to do so; proceedings in which one cannot but mark the contrast with those of the Spaniards in Florida a few years before. Among those who returned to France was Champlain.

In anticipation of this conquest, Charles I. had made a proprietary grant of the whole of Canada to Sir William Alexander. But before the news of the conquest had reached London, negotiations for peace with France were going on, in the course of which it was agreed that all acquisitions made by either belligerent party on the St. Lawrence should be mutually restored; and in accordance with this understanding, Quebec was restored to the French in the following summer.

In 1633, Champlain came once more to the St. Lawrence, this time as governor of Quebec. The next two years, the last of his life, saw the prospects of Canada brightening. Many new settlers came, and trade went on briskly. For the moment, peace seemed to be secured. Some changes, however, had occurred which were ominous for future disaster, and those changes had been made in spite of Champlain. Henceforth no Huguenots were to be allowed to set foot in Canada. The Récollet friars, too, with whom Champlain heartily sympathized, had found it necessary to retire to other fields of activity, leaving all spiritual affairs in the hands of the Jesuits, who represented very different ideas from those of Champlain. He was now sixty-eight years old, and the hardships of the untamed wilderness had prematurely broken down his iron frame. After a lingering illness, he passed away on Christmas Day, 1635.

Among the founders of American states, Champlain stands forth pre-eminent in strength and beauty of character. For integrity, unswerving accuracy of judgment, simple-minded fidelity to duty, and serenity amid all vicissitudes of fortune, he may fitly be compared

to Washington. History shows few characters so perfect. Along with his other gifts, Champlain possessed literary power of no mean order. His writings are among the most charming books of his time, and it is impossible to read many pages in them without feeling love and veneration for the author. The Dominion of Canada may well point back with pride to this noble Frenchman as its founder.

Champlain's successor, Montemagny, was a warm adherent of the Jesuits, and his appointment marks the completion of the change which delivered over the new colony into the hands of that religious order. It was now that the principal work of the Huron mission began; and in order to understand its vicissitudes, a few words are needed concerning the relations of the Long House to its neighboring kinsmen. Of these, there were several famous tribes. To the south the Susquehannocks, to the west the Eries and Hurons, while between the Eries and Senecas there was a tribe commonly called the Neutral Nation, because they allowed the warriors of the Long House to pass through their territory unmolested in order to attack the tribes beyond, while they, nevertheless, refused to take part in the warfare. In spite of their pacific name, we are told that no Indians surpassed them in ferocity. These outlying branches of the Iroquois family were objects of deadly hatred on the part of the Long House. There is some reason to believe that they had been invited to join the confederacy, and, having declined the invitation, were henceforth regarded as traitors. It became the object of the confederacy to annihilate them as tribes and incorporate the survivors of the warfare into their own numbers by adoption. In this policy, they attained signal success. In order to protect themselves against this terrible and domineering power, the outlying Iroquois on many occasions forgot their hereditary enmities and made alliances with Algonquins. We have already seen Champlain and his Algonquins uniting with Hurons and Susquehannocks to attack the Onondagas. Of all these sinners against Iroquois tradition, the Hurons were perhaps the worst. No other tribe had so often been seen arrayed side by side with the despised Algonquin foe. The Hurons were esteemed doubly dyed traitors by every warrior of the Long House, and we can imagine that these feelings were not modified when they were seen to become the especial protégés and pupils of the hated Frenchmen.

The story of the Huron mission is a strange episode in the history of the wilderness. The work of converting the barbarians was, in its early stages, fraught with peril. As almost always in the early contact between the white and red races, there were two parties among the latter,

one disposed toward friendship with the newcomers, the other inclined to kill and devour them. Among the Hurons there was such a hostile party; and they sought to fix upon the Jesuit Fathers the stigma of "bad medicine." If there came a frost nipping the maize crop, of course it was these white sorcerers who had done it; or if some warrior's favorite child sickened and died, or a party went forth in quest of game and returned empty-handed, or if some Huron scalp was taken off by some prowling foe in the forest, these good priests were declared to be the cause of the evil. Their good fortune in escaping death long enough



FIG. 115. Marie de l'Incarnation. (From an engraving by J. Edelinck. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

to bring the whole tribe around to their own way of thinking was marvellous. It was an illustration of the great truth, too often lost sight of, that love begets love. Nothing could exceed the tender devotion with which these priests applied themselves to the care of their people. They would assist them in their work and play, watch over them carefully in sickness, return good words for evil, and by their exemplary conduct and true nobility of spirit they succeeded in winning the affections of the whole Huron tribe. In far more than a superstitious sense did these red men look upon them as superior beings.

It was in 1641 that Montreal began its continuous life as a town,

although for trading purposes a few huts had been gathered there at an earlier time. Sundry men and women in France, inspired with religious zeal, conceived the idea of founding a college and a hospital in the new colony. For this purpose, they selected the site of the "Royal Mount," and a society was incorporated under the name of Notre Dame de Montreal, and the proposed city was called Ville Marie de Montreal. A party of colonists soon arrived in Canada, led by one of the chivalrous men of the day. Few indeed are the names of the seventeenth century that stand out with brighter lustre than that of Maisonneuve. The new city was soon surrounded with strong palisades guarded by cannon, and the hospital was built of stone so solidly as to defy any force which hostile Indians could bring against it.

The founders of Montreal had need of all the defence that stout palisades and stone battlements could afford, for the warriors of the Long House were beginning to show themselves the scourge of Canada. Year by year, they renewed their incursions. At length in 1644, these Iroquois made a concerted attack in full force. They came so stealthily through the forest that they were close at hand before the Frenchmen suspected them. Maisonneuve and his friends had not yet learned their method of warfare; and when he made a sally in order to drive them away, his men were soon encompassed by superior numbers and forced to retreat within their walls. Maisonneuve himself was the last to enter the gate, where in single combat he slew one of the most famous Iroquois chiefs, and was ever afterward regarded by those Indians with as much respect as hatred.

The Iroquois seemed every year to become more formidable. Many of them were well equipped with muskets and ammunition, which they bought from the Dutch in New Netherland, paying for them with immensely valuable furs. This traffic was kept up in spite of all attempts to suppress it on the part of the Dutch government. When an Indian was ready to buy a gun with furs worth \$1000, it was not strange that it proved hard to stop such trade. When the advantage of fire-arms was added to the advantages that grew out of their strong federation, the Iroquois soon became irresistible. Scarcely a year passed without raids upon Canada, in which the Mohawks, from their geographical position, usually bore a leading part. They would descend Lake Champlain—which the French usually called Iroquois Lake—in their bark canoes, and would then march to some point on the St. Lawrence, where they could cut the communication between Montreal and Quebec, and woe to all incautious wayfarers who came

within their reach. In 1648, they turned their arms against the Huron villages. In the summer of 1648, a large number of Huron warriors came down the Ottawa, heavily laden with the furs which they had taken in the upper country, in order to sell them to the Canadian settlers. During the absence of these defenders, the Huron villages were sadly exposed to attack, and the Iroquois seized the occasion to swoop upon the St. Joseph mission and butcher the women, children, and old



FIG. 116.—Jean de Brébeuf. (From Shea's edition of Charlevoix.)

men. Nearly a thousand prisoners were taken. This work was followed up with frightful thoroughness in the spring of 1649. Fifteen Huron villages were completely destroyed, and the inhabitants massacred on the spot, save those that were kept for torture. Among these were the two heroic priests, Brébeuf and Lalemant. Their stubborn courage had greatly enraged their captors. They were well known to be among the foremost leaders of the detested Frenchmen, and the resources of Iroquois ingenuity were exhausted in making their death as

hideous as possible. The two men were very different in their physical and mental qualities. Brébeuf (Fig. 146) had the frame of a Hercules, with the air and demeanor of a man born to command. Lalemant was a scholar, slender and delicate, of exquisitely sensitive organization and gentle demeanor. But no difference was visible in the firmness with which these two victims endured the torture. The pen refuses to describe all that was done; but sometimes it seems proper in the interest of correct history to mention a few facts, even of this sort. After Brébeuf had been scalped, a bucket of scalding water was poured upon his head, in derision of baptism. A necklace was carefully made of hatchets heated red-hot, and was then put about the victim's neck. Lalemant's eyes were pulled out, and live coals placed in the sockets. Finally, after this horrible scene had gone on for some hours without eliciting from either victim so much as a moan or cry, after the souls had fled from their mangled bodies, a feathered chieftain pulled out Brébeuf's heart and greedily devoured it, in order that he might become the possessor of similar superhuman fortitude.

After this carnival of horrors, the Iroquois received a check. For bravery and intelligence, the Hurons were certainly not their inferiors; and when the mission of Sainte Marie was attacked, the defenders were victorious and the assailants felt it prudent to retreat. But in spite of this last repulse, the bloody work had been effectively done. The Huron "nation"—to use an old familiar phrase—was virtually annihilated. Enough prisoners were carried away to feed the flames in all the Iroquois villages from Lake Erie to Schenectady, and the French had received a blow which was never forgotten. At a somewhat later time, the remnants of the Hurons were incorporated with those of several other tribes which had been similarly scourged, and the resulting composite tribe has been known since 1750 as Wyandots. About seven hundred of them survive to the present day.

After the destruction of the Huron missions, the Five Nations renewed their assaults along the valley of the St. Lawrence, with such success that people were hardly able to stir out of such fortified places as Montreal and Quebec. The foe seemed ubiquitous, his footsteps noiseless, his movements untraceable, his blow resistless. In the acuteness of their distress, the French once appealed to their neighbors in New England, endeavoring to incite them to take up arms against the Long House. In view of later history, this appeal now reads somewhat queerly.

Since they could not obtain English aid in attacking the Iroquois, the

next best thing was to drive an entering wedge of persuasion somewhere into the confederacy. The opportunity was afforded about 1655. The Five Nations had just turned their attention to the chastisement of their kinsmen, the Eries. They succeeded in crushing that formidable tribe, but not without terrible loss to themselves. The Onondagas in particular were so weakened that they proposed to adopt into their own numbers the remnant of their late victims, the Hurons. At this proposal the Hurons were placed in a quandary. They did not like to refuse, for fear of further chastisement at the hands of the Five Nations; but on the other hand, if they were to accept the offer, they were likely to displease their old protectors, the French. In this dilemma they sent envoys to Quebec, to see what view Governor Montmagny would take of the case. His answer was adroit enough for a Solomon: Let them accept the offer on condition that the Onondagas would allow Jesuit missionaries to come into their country and would promise to treat them well. So eager were the Onondagas to recuperate their strength that they actually assented to this condition; but the arrangement was only very imperfectly carried out. A small number of Hurons went over to the Onondagas, but the greater number declined to go. A Jesuit mission was sent, according to stipulation, into the centre of the Long House; but when they got there, things were not what had been expected. Since the Hurons were not fulfilling their part of the bargain, the obligation of the Onondagas to fulfil theirs seemed to be weakened. The other tribes of the Long House were indignant at the admission of the Jesuits, and presently these hardy priests found themselves in a situation of extreme danger. The warriors of the Five Nations gathered about their council-fires for plotting one more grand expedition, which should wipe the Frenchmen in Canada from the face of the earth; and by way of prelude, they proposed to massacre the Jesuits who had placed themselves within their grasp. But among these intended victims were good linguists, who could understand the Iroquois language even when spoken in whispers. The whole party numbered about fifty Frenchmen, including the military escort, commanded by a shrewd and daring young chevalier named Dupuy. On learning of the treachery with which they were threatened, Dupuy had a few strong, flat-bottomed, wooden boats built; then he invited all the Indians in the neighborhood to a gala supper of boiled dog, washed down with liberal draughts of French brandy, and got them all royally drunk. So, while all were buried in slumber, the Frenchmen got into their wooden boats, in which they forced their way through the thin March ice down the Oswego River to

Lake Ontario. They were safe against pursuit, for the Indian canoes could not contend with the ice. Once safe upon the lake, if a position can be called safe that required the utmost skill in navigation, the party made their way down the St. Lawrence, shooting its many steep and stormy rapids, until they all arrived within the fortifications of Quebec. We shall hereafter see that even this rebuff did not prevent the French from persevering in their attempts to send Jesuits to the Five Nations. Their perseverance was after a while rewarded with a certain measure of success, although they never quite succeeded in detaching the confederacy from its alliance with the English. For the present the Iroquois renewed their incursions every year, and caused much misery by destroying the crops. The thoroughness of their work was shown in their burning the hay crops, which in many places made it impossible for the French to keep horses.

During this lamentable state of affairs a change was made in the governorship, and a gentleman named Avangour replaced Montmagny at Quebec. It was also thought desirable that Canada should have a bishop; and the first who came was Father Laval, a man of great piety and ability, with ascetic habits and an iron will. Difficulties were not long in rising between the civil and ecclesiastical powers; and after a while, the Hundred Associates, weary of the many difficulties which the care of their province entailed, gave up their charter and surrendered Canada to the king. This was done in 1663. Louis XIV., then twenty-five years of age, had been King of France for twenty years, but had only in 1661 taken up the work of governing. The province of Canada now became part of his royal domain; and as we shall hereafter see, it came to be one of the chief objects of his care. During his long reign a very remarkable society was built up in the valley of the St. Lawrence; but our account of it must be deferred to a later chapter. Before we can deal with the fortunes of Canada under Louis XIV., we must turn our attention southward and see how English colonies came to be planted in North America.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FOUNDING OF VIRGINIA.

THE voyages of the Cabots were not followed up by England, because they disclosed no prospect of wealth. The Cabots neither found a civilized country nor any available route by which the wealthy kingdoms of the East might be approached. The remark of Peter Martyr was quite generally accepted, that "he who would gain riches must not go to the cold and frozen north." One would suppose that the Cabots might have had their attention attracted to furs, but that seems to have been reserved for Cartier. The one thing which they did observe was the great fishing-ground in the waters about Newfoundland. The importance of fish as an article of commerce has always been great, and was especially so before the Protestant Reformation, when there were so many days on which meat was prohibited. But the English were already in the habit of catching fish in the neighborhood of Iceland, and did not all in a moment change this custom.

It was not until after the accession of Elizabeth that the English began to feel interested in the western shores of the Atlantic. That interest first took root and grew in connection with the great politico-religious struggle in which Spain was the Catholic champion. Maritime activity in Elizabeth's reign was first concerned with the catching of negroes on the Guinea coast, which of course was poaching upon Portuguese preserves. In this kind of work was trained that bold and pious mariner, Sir John Hawkins. Large profits were made by such voyages. The need for cheap labor in the West Indies was so great that the planters were ready to buy slaves without caring much by whom they were brought. Hawkins would load his ships with a cargo of negroes kidnapped in Africa, and would then cross the ocean to Cuba or San Domingo and sell them to the planters there for almost any price he chose to ask. On one of these expeditions in 1567, he took with him a young man who was afterward destined to take the highest rank among the naval heroes of all ages, with the possible exception of Nelson. This young man was Francis Drake. In the course of their voyage, Hawkins' five ships were compelled by foul



Philip

FIG. 117.—Philip II. (From "Memorial History of New York," vol. i.)

weather to enter the port of San Juan de Ulloa, in Mexico. Thirteen Spanish ships presently arrived on the scene and made a solemn covenant with Hawkins not to molest him if he would let them into the harbor. After the Englishman had admitted them into the harbor, they treacherously set upon him and in a hot fight destroyed three of

his ships. Three of the captured Englishmen were taken to the city of Mexico and burned alive as heretics. Hawkins got away, with his two remaining ships; and when the news of the affair reached England, it caused much indignation. The war in the Netherlands was just breaking out, and within a few years it became evident to Queen Elizabeth and her ministers that sooner or later it would be necessary to contend against the giant power of Spain. Under these circumstances, England's course was plainly marked out for her by nature. She was rapidly finding out that her strength lay in her ships. How could she most thoroughly cripple the enemy? Obviously by seizing his treasure-ships on their way from Vera Cruz or Porto Bello, laden with the rich sinews of war. As Richard Hakluyt said, to strike at Philip II. (Fig. 117) in the West Indies was like striking at the apple of his eye; and if English mariners could go on for some years cutting off his American treasure, they would presently pluck him as bare as Æsop's proud jay. This is the explanation of the cruises of Drake and Cavendish and other great English captains of that age. We now sometimes hear these men called corsairs or buccaneers. There could not be a more gross misconception of the facts. When Drake captured a Spanish treasure-ship, it was no more piracy than cutting off the enemy's supply-wagons in time of war is an act of highway robbery. In that great war, which determined whether Europe should be enslaved or free, it was eminently right and proper that the arch-enemy's supplies should be cut off. Especially ignorant and unjust is the application of opprobrious epithets to Drake, whose moral character was as lofty as his courage and his intelligence. He was a man whom all Americans should look upon with veneration and gratitude, since it is largely due to Sir Francis Drake (Fig. 118) and a few men like him that such a nation as the United States now exists.

Drake's operations against the Spanish sources of supply took on great proportions in the year 1577, when he sailed through the Strait of Magellan and invaded the vast Pacific Ocean, which the Spaniards had hitherto regarded as their own especial preserve. The remoteness of the towns along its coasts no longer saved them. All the way from the shores of Chili to those of Mexico, with a single ship of twenty guns, he made his way, stopping and plundering where rich treasure was to be found, until it was unsafe to carry any more. The spoil amounted to many millions of dollars; but it is pleasant to be able to add, in speaking of that ruthless age, that there was no wanton destruction of life or of property. The proceedings were characterized



FIG. 118.—Sir F. Drake. (From Holland's "Heroology.")

by a humanity in strong contrast to those of Spaniards and Frenchmen in that day. After thus loading his ship, Drake sailed northward along the coast of California. It is not quite clear how far he went. He describes a bay which was probably that of San Francisco. Some think that he saw the coast of Oregon or even perhaps that of British Columbia, but this is doubtful. It is perhaps worth noting that he applied to all that country the somewhat prophetic name, "New

Albion." This was the first of the voyages which aimed at the discovery of a northeast passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic, a quest which was kept up without success until the problem was solved in 1854 by Sir Robert McClure. After a while, Drake made up his mind that it was better to carry his treasures to England than to continue that search, so he crossed the Pacific and went home by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This was the second circumnavigation of the earth. The third came eight years later, when Drake's exploits were repeated by his apt pupil, Thomas Cavendish.

A second stage in the maritime operations of England was marked by attempts to found a Protestant colony on the Atlantic coast of North America. We have already seen that such an idea had been entertained by Coligny. From him it passed on to the two brave Devonshire knights, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, who were half-brothers, children of the same mother. Raleigh in his youth had served in France under Coligny. Among the few Frenchmen in Florida who escaped from the murdering Menendez was the artist Le Moine, who made his way to England, and there had more or less to do with these excellent knights. Gilbert obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent giving him authority to colonize as much of the Atlantic coast of North America as he could occupy without coming into collision with other Christian powers. Gilbert and Raleigh made a preliminary voyage, which accomplished but little. Then Gilbert started alone; but some of his ships were wrecked off the coast of Newfoundland, and his own ship, seeking home again, perished in a storm near the Azores. This was in 1583, and the next year his patent was renewed in the name of his half-brother Raleigh. In that year, Raleigh fitted up an expedition at his own expense and sent it, under Captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, to find a suitable place for settlement. They explored the coast of North Carolina and landed on Roanoke Island. When they reached home with favorable accounts of the country they had visited, it was felt that some English name was desirable under which to refer to it, and the queen suggested that it should be called after herself, Virginia. Thenceforth for many years this name was used for the entire coast from the Savannah River northward to Nova Scotia. We find, for example, such expressions as "Manhattan Island in Virginia" not at all uncommon.

In the spring of 1585, Raleigh's first colonists were sent out to Roanoke Island under command of Ralph Lane. This party succumbed to the usual enemies, famine and the Indians; and the wretched

remnant were only too glad to be taken back to England in the ships of Sir Francis Drake, who was returning from a successful raid in the West Indies. A second colonizing party was sent by Raleigh in 1587, about 150 people commanded by John White. Roanoke Island again



FIG. 119.—A Florida village, drawn by Le Moyne. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xii.)

was the seat of this little colony, and there on August 18 was born Virginia Dare, the first child of English parents born on the soil of the United States. Governor White was soon obliged to return to England for reinforcements, and it was not until 1591 that he was able to come

back to his friends in the wilderness. When he arrived on Roanoke Island, they had all disappeared, and what became of them was never known. From time to time, navigators were instructed to call and make exploration of the country ; but no trace of the missing party was ever found. Some years afterward, the settlers at Jamestown were told

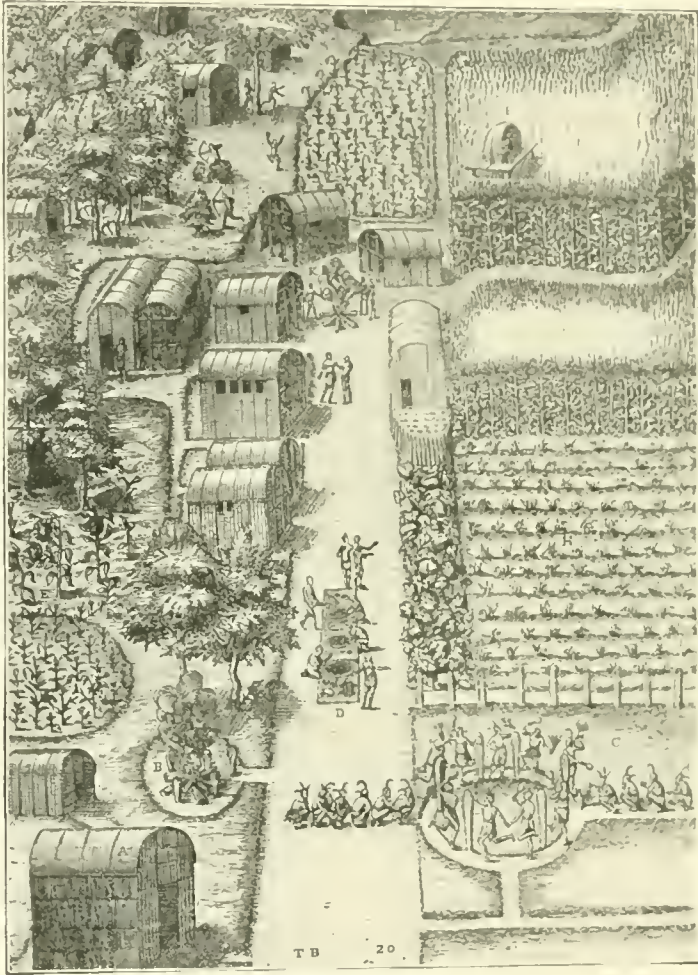


FIG. 120.—Village of Secotum. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. i.)

by Indians that White's colonists, unable to support themselves, had mingled on friendly terms with the natives of the Carolina coast, and that after some time, on a suspicion of witchcraft, nearly all were put to

death. In this story, there is nothing improbable; at all events, it is the only information we have.

The cause of White's long detention in England was the excitement caused by the threatened Spanish invasion. It was impossible to get ships for crossing the Atlantic, because every craft available for such a purpose was pressed into the national service. For the same reason, it was impossible to get either men or money. The very existence of England as an independent nation was at stake, and it was not a time when the fate of a handful of people in America could claim much



FIG. 121.—Sir Walter Raleigh. (From an engraving by Houbraeken, after a painting in the possession of Peter Burrell, Esq. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

attention. The year 1587 witnessed one of Drake's most daring exploits, when he sailed into the very harbor of proud Cadiz, and, in full sight of the enemy, burned 100 ships designed to form part of the Invincible Armada. This tremendous blow delayed the enterprise for one year. This is not the place to repeat the well-known story of that overwhelming defeat of the Invincible Armada. For the men of our race, it was no doubt the most glorious victory of modern times. It was a victory over the powers of darkness, if ever such powers existed upon this earth. For Americans, its special interest lies in the fact that such an

overthrow of the Spanish naval power was absolutely necessary before English colonies could be planted in America. But for the defeat of the Armada, the colonies of Jamestown and Plymouth might have been extinguished in blood, like the colony of Huguenots in Florida. When England reached out her arm to the American coast, it was necessary that she should command the ocean-approaches thereto. The summer of 1588 marks the downfall of Spain as a great maritime power and the rise of the English and Dutch navies into the foremost place; and the defeat of the Armada may properly be regarded as the inaugural event in the history of the United States.

In similar wise, it is proper to regard Sir Walter Raleigh (Fig. 121), as the first founder of our nation. Although that great man never set foot upon our shores, although his utmost efforts did not succeed in planting a self-supporting colony here, it was nevertheless he that began the series of operations that led directly to the founding of the colony at Jamestown. By 1589, he began to feel that something more than his own unaided efforts would be necessary. He had spent a sum answering to more than a million dollars out of his private purse, and yet had obtained only the sorry results which we have mentioned. It was very costly work to fit up expeditions for crossing the Atlantic and founding states. Raleigh's next thought was to enlist the queen in the enterprise; but Elizabeth had too many other uses for her money, and, while she felt an undoubted interest in the undertaking, her mind was so far preoccupied that death overtook her before she had done anything. Raleigh, however, did not put his sole reliance upon royal aid. He adopted a wiser method when he assigned all his rights of trading in Virginia to a joint stock company; and in 1602, after James I. had consigned him to the Tower on a false charge of treason, he still busied himself in organizing a new expedition. This expedition, commanded by Bartholomew Gosnold, visited the southern coast of what we call New England, but which then was usually known as North Virginia. It was followed, the next year, by the voyage of Martin Pring. These voyages added to the map the names Cape Cod, Elizabeth Islands, and Martha's Vineyard, which seems to have been a corruption of Martin's Vineyard. In 1605, the same coast was visited by George Weymouth, who carried home with him several Indians and aroused popular interest in these strange regions.

The immediate result of these voyages was the organization of a great joint stock company in two branches, one of which had its headquarters at London, the other at Plymouth in Devonshire, the county which was

the home of Gilbert and Raleigh and had been especially forward in maritime enterprise. In course of time, these two branches came to be known respectively as the London Company and the Plymouth Company, and after a while they were dissociated from one another. The king now proceeded to map things out with characteristic elaborateness. Like a true Stuart, he never took the shortest road if there were any circuitous bypaths that he might pursue. He began by defining the



FIG. 122.—Queen Elizabeth.

limits of Virginia as extending from the thirty-fourth parallel to the forty-fifth. He was at peace with both France and Spain, and was unwilling to offend either; and the limits here designated enabled him to keep clear of the French in Canada and likewise of the Spaniards in Florida. We may observe here, however, that Spain still laid claim to the entire coast on the strength of Borgia's bulls, and watched the progress of the English enterprise with feelings of bitter jealousy and chagrin. We can read the history of the affair from month to month in

the letters that were sent by the Spanish ambassador in London to his master, Philip III., in which our English forefathers and their doings are often characterized in language more forcible than pleasant.

The unknown country stretching inland from these eleven degrees of coast-line was divided into three great belts or zones. The first of these extended from the thirty-fourth parallel to the thirty-eighth—that is to say, from the mouth of Cape Fear River to Assateague Bay on the eastern peninsula of Virginia; the second extended from the thirty-eighth parallel to the forty-first—that is to say, from Assateague Bay about to the mouth of Long Island Sound; the third extended from the forty-first parallel to the forty-fifth—that is, from the water last mentioned to the Bay of Fundy. In the first or southernmost of these three zones, the London Company was expected to found a colony. In the northernmost zone, the Plymouth Company was expected to do likewise. As for the intermediate belt, it was open to both companies, with the proviso that neither should make a settlement within a hundred miles of any settlement already begun by the other. For practical purposes, this arrangement was likely to give the middle zone to whichever company should be first in the field there; and its purpose would seem to have been to arouse a spirit of emulation in the two.

For the government of this vast territory, there was to be a council appointed by the crown and sitting in London. Subject to the general supervision of this council in London, there was to be in each colony a local council of thirteen persons, one of whom was to be president with a casting vote. This Colonial Council was to choose its president annually, while retaining the right to depose him if necessary. The usual attributes of sovereignty required by the circumstances were bestowed upon the local Colonial Council. It could punish crimes, impose a tariff upon imported goods, and coin money for circulation in the colony only—a kind of currency with which Americans of divers generations seem to have been very much in love, inasmuch as from time to time we have seen political parties cite it as the crowning merit of a currency that nobody can take it out of the country, which is very much like praising spring-water by saying that it refuses to flow.

Both branches of the joint stock company had their expeditions in readiness at nearly the same time. That which was intended for North Virginia arrived in the summer of 1607 at the mouth of the Kennebec River. They were commanded by George Popham, a nephew of the Chief Justice of England. They built a few huts there, where they passed a pleasant autumn vainly hunting for gold, and a miserable

winter in the course of which half the number perished. Then they returned to England with the news that the climate of North Virginia was too severe for human inhabitants.

The little fleet which sailed for the southern zone was commanded by one of Raleigh's sturdiest sailors, Christopher Newport, whose name



FIG. 123.—James I.

has been left upon the little promontory that appears on old maps as Newport Ness, but has since been corrupted into Newport News. The names of the thirteen members of the Colonial Council were not revealed in advance, but were carried in a box which was not to be opened until the end of the voyage. Meanwhile all were under the

command of Captain Newport. The ships took a route which at the present day seems somewhat strange, and was, no doubt, unreasonably long. They followed the example of Columbus in running first to the Canary Islands and then steering due west. In this way, they were brought to the island of Dominica in the West Indies, where they took in fresh provisions. Some trouble had arisen between two gentlemen of the party, Edward Wingfield and John Smith (PLATE XIII.). The latter personage was a native of Lincolnshire, a handsome young man of twenty-six, who had already roamed over the greater part of Europe as far as the wild regions beyond the Crimea, meeting with many remarkable adventures. He had served in France under the great Henry, and afterward in Austria, where he had been made a captain of dragoons; he had been taken prisoner by the Turks and sold into unendurable slavery, from which he escaped only by killing his master. He had, moreover, seen some naval service on the coast of Morocco, and now the thirst for wild adventure was bringing him to the New World. At Dominica, Wingfield professed to have detected him in plotting a mutiny, and he was therefore put in irons for the rest of the voyage.

It was only after heavy stress of weather, such as is often found along our southern coasts, that the voyagers were cheered by the sight of the promontory which they called Point Comfort. They had scarcely set foot upon shore when they were welcomed with a shower of Indian arrows, which inflicted several ugly wounds. When the box was opened, it was found that the council consisted of only six members, of whom the president was to have a double vote. Wingfield and Smith were both among the members of the council, which forthwith chose Wingfield for president, while Smith was not yet sworn into office, although he was freed from imprisonment. The first use which he made of his liberty was to accompany Captain Newport on a voyage of exploration up the James River. During their absence, the remainder of the party occupied themselves in building a fort at the place, which they called Jamestown. Smith and Newport went as far as the falls of the James River, where they reached one of the principal villages of a tribe known as Powhatans, or "men by the falling waters." This tribe was member of a confederacy which included the greater number of the Algonquins in tide-water Virginia. The head war-chief of the Powhatan tribe was called *par excellence* The Powhatan, as we have seen that the sovereign of the Incas was called The Inca. This Powhatan was military commander of the whole confederacy, and it is to be noted that his brother Opekaunkano, who by and by succeeded



*These are the Lines that shew thy Face, but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory brighter bee:
Thy Faire Discoveries and Fowle - Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civillizd by thee -
Best shew thy Spirit, and to it Glory Wyn.
So, thou art Brasfe without, but Golde within
If so, in Brasfe, too soft smiths Acts to beare
I fix thy Fame, to make Brasfe steele out weare.*

*Thine as thou art Virtues
John Duars Hires*

Captayne Iohn Smith A contemporary portrait.

From Smith's Works, edited by Arber.

History of All Nations, Vol. XXI., page 246.

him in that office, was at that time head war-chief of the Pamunkeys, another tribe of the confederacy. Another leading village of the Powhatan tribe, situated on the north side of York River, was known as Werowocomoco, or "place of the great chief." Here The Powhatan usually had his residence.

After his return from this journey, Smith demanded a trial by jury on the charges brought against him by Wingfield. He was speedily acquitted and sworn into office as a member of the council. A little later in the season, the council deposed Wingfield and chose for his

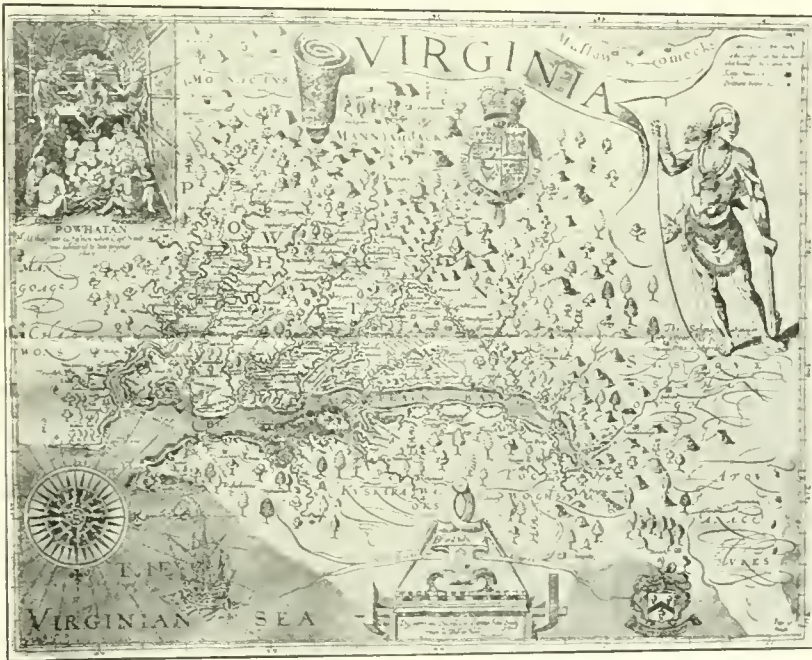


FIG. 124.—Smith's map of Virginia. (From Smith's works edited by Arber.)

successor a man of the sort whom it is customary to call a doubtful character, by which it is usually meant that his character is not at all doubtful. His reputation in London had been bad; and he had found it necessary, from considerations of personal convenience, to travel hither and thither under different names. He was now called John Ratcliffe, but the particular alias to which he was best entitled seems to have been Sickelmore. Since Wingfield was no longer president, Smith sued him for damages for having brought false accusations against him, and poor Wingfield was mulcted in a heavy sum. We need not wonder

that the atmosphere was quarrelsome, for the men were half starved, and in the course of that season more than half their number perished. It is to be noted that the company consisted partly of gentlemen unused to manual labor, and partly of vagabonds unwilling to work. It is to be further observed that they had been instructed by the London Company of Virginia to throw into a common pool all the fruits of their labor; and since the idlers were thus to fare equally well with the industrious,



FIG. 125.—The Powhatan's wigwam. (From Smith's own sketch.)

it is not strange that very little corn was raised. There were, of course, no domestic animals, and a regular diet of meat and milk was out of the question. But what does surprise one is that, in a country abounding in the finest of game and with waters literally crowded with wholesome and delicious fish, there should have been so much distress from hunger. As it was, the only resource of these first colonists, after their ships' rations had become exhausted, was to apply for corn to the neighboring Indians, who showed more forethought than their palefaced visitors.

It was on a quest of this sort that the enterprising Smith set out in December on a journey up the Chickahominy River. Many miles above Jamestown, there is a region famous in these latter days for the terrible fighting which it has witnessed; it is known as White Oak Swamp. But the first fight there of which we have any record was a fight between Smith and the red men, not far from Christmas-time of the year 1607. His party was attacked by an overwhelming force of Pamunkeys, under their chief, Opekankano, and all were killed except Smith, who was taken prisoner. Before his capture, Smith had killed two Indians with his pistol. For several days, he was led about the country, to one Indian village after another; and at each one, the Indian chief seems to have asked questions about him. At length he was brought to Werowocomoco and into the presence of the ruling Powhatan, an old man dressed in a royal robe of raccoon-skins having all the tails on, serving as decorative tassels. It was a typical long house, capable of accommodating some sixty or eighty persons, and Smith found it full of scowling warriors and squaws, with their bare shoulders stained red with juice of puccoon, and necklaces of white wampum about their necks.

Our authority for what follows is Captain Smith's own narrative, in his "General History of Virginia," published in 1624. After he had been led before the chief, there was some animated talk among the warriors present, as if they were engaged in discussion. Presently a block of stone was brought and laid before the rude bench which constituted The Powhatan's throne. Smith was then laid down, with his head upon this block, while two or three Indians with clubs (meaning, undoubtedly, tomahawks) awaited the signal for crushing his head (Fig. 126). At that moment, a little girl aged thirteen called out several times to the chief, and presently came rushing up to Smith and bent lovingly over him, while she threw her arms about his neck. Then the executioners were called away, and Smith was released from his uncomfortable position. After this, he was treated with politeness and fared like his captors. The next day, while he was sitting on one side of a large hanging robe which served as a portiere, he saw the great chief with half a dozen warriors, with their faces hideously painted, file past him. Outside the wigwam, they danced about a big fire, screeching and howling like devils afflicted with acute mania, for the space of an hour or two. Presently The Powhatan returned to the wigwam, with his face washed clean of its paint, and informed the white man that it was all right now, and hereafter he should esteem him as his own son. He then



FIG. 126.—Pocahontas saving the life of Captain John Smith.

suggested that on returning to Jamestown the stranger should send him some English swords and a grindstone, in return for which he would give him plenty of ground whereon to build wigwams for the pale-faces. “But how did it happen,” added the wily old barbarian, “that these palefaces had encamped upon his territory?” The question was put to an interpreter, and the prudent Smith replied that his

good white men had been chased in their great canoes by a party of evil-minded Spaniards, so that they had felt it necessary to take refuge ashore. Smith did not think it a suitable moment for diminishing his welcome by letting it be known that these good white men had come to stay.

Such is the captain's plain, straightforward narrative, the truth of which is stamped upon every one of its details. He was describing that which he could not be expected to understand, and which no white man upon such a short acquaintance with Indians could possibly have invented. The meaning of the whole scene is perfectly transparent to a modern scholar. It is not uncommon for Indians to treat their prisoners with extreme politeness, even when they intend to slay them. Smith was treated politely. On his arrival at the long wigwam, the Indians discussed what should be done with him. He had killed two of their warriors, and thus incurred a blood-debt. According to Indian notions, all such debts must be satisfied either by the prisoner's death or by his adoption. When it was decided to put the prisoner to death, but without torture, The Powhatan's young daughter, Pocahontas, laid claim to him, according to a common custom; and as her father seems to have hesitated, she proceeded to lay hold upon the handsome Englishman and insist upon her rights, which were duly conceded. As I have said in the first chapter of this book, such claims of the individual were almost invariably respected by the tribe. But this adoption of a pale-face was a somewhat extreme measure, and under all the circumstances it seemed best to have a medicine-dance in order to propitiate the tutelary powers. Then The Powhatan, as was natural, greeted Smith as his son, which of course the Englishman understood merely as a polite form of speech. Then was suggested an exchange of gifts, involving an arrangement by which the strangers should receive their land from the Powhatan tribe.

Such was the far-famed rescue of John Smith by Pocahontas, one of the pleasantest and most romantic incidents in early American history. English writers, as was natural, could see only the romantic side of it; but from the Indian point of view, it was simply a commonplace, everyday matter of business. Of recent years, there has been an attempt to cast doubt upon the story. I will not waste space in this brief narrative with the discussion of this subject. Those who are interested in it will find it elaborately treated in my "*Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*," where I believe that Smith's veracity is established beyond the possibility of further cavil. Not only is his narrative convincing in itself, but

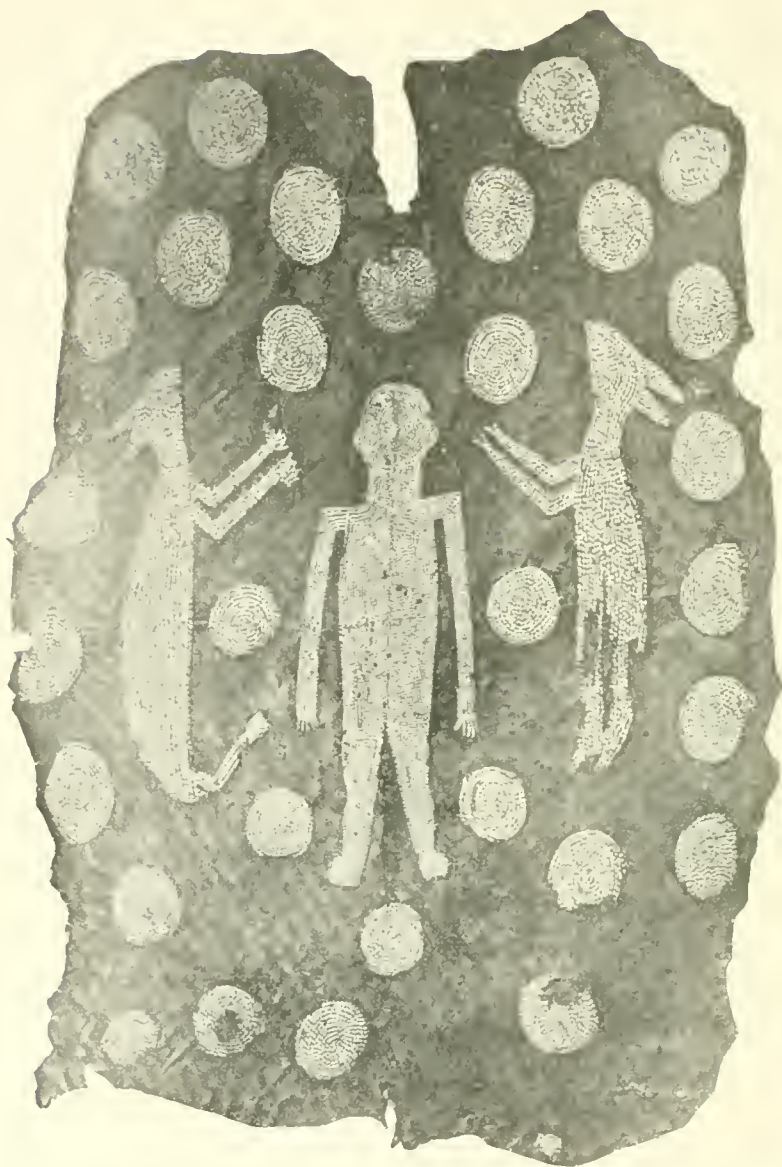


FIG. 127.—A Powhatan mantle. (From Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. x.)

unconsciously it supplies an explanation for succeeding events, without which they would become unintelligible. There can be no doubt that Smith and his handful of white men were at this time adopted either into the Powhatan tribe, or at least into the confederacy of which it was

the head. On several occasions, they were addressed by the Indians as Powhatans, or children of The Powhatan; and from January, 1608, the time of the rescue, down to Smith's final departure for England in the autumn of 1609, the Indians with considerable regularity sent to Jamestown supplies of provisions, which were often conducted by the little Pocahontas. There can, I think, be little doubt as to the fact of the adoption. Without it, the facts just mentioned would be unintelligible. On the other hand, we need not be surprised, in the face of such a novel experience as the adoption of white men, to find the Indian policy somewhat dubious and wavering; we shall presently observe an instance of this uncertainty.

One of the principal events in the summer of 1608 was Smith's voyage of exploration up Chesapeake Bay and into the great rivers by the confluence of which that noble sheet of water is formed. Upon his return from this voyage, Smith was chosen president of the colony in the place of Sickelmore, the man of aliases, who had been deposed for misconduct. From time to time, the worthy Newport returned from England, bringing with him fresh supplies of colonists, and on at least one occasion a remonstrance from the Virginia Company, which was not satisfied with the progress that things were making. This joint stock company was not finding in Virginia the mine of wealth which it expected. On one occasion, one of the settlers came upon a streak of glistening yellow soil, and forthwith a feverish activity supervened upon the ordinary torpor of the colony. One of the ships was loaded with the yellow stuff; but when it arrived in London, it did not take long to show that other things might glisten beside gold-dust. There was one vegetable product of the Virginia soil which was destined soon to bring with it more wealth than gold-mines, but the importance of tobacco as an article of commerce was not yet foreseen. On one of Newport's visits to Virginia, a grotesque scene was enacted at Werowocomoco. King James I. had expressed his pleasure at making an alliance with a mighty emperor who ruled over countless subject kings, for such were the terms in which the European mind absurdly conceived the circumstances of the American wilderness. Of course, such a mighty potentate could not but be gratified by a present of imperial regalia sent from a brother monarch, and it might be wholesome to have a ceremony of coronation conducted after Christian models. The old Powhatan chieftain submitted to the ceremony with great reluctance and many hoarse grunts; but he was greatly delighted to put on a flaming scarlet cloak instead of his many-tailed garment of raccoon-skins, which he

begged to be allowed to send over to King James in token of undying affection.

But this amiable frame of mind on the part of the barbarian was disturbed as he saw shipload after shipload of palefaces arrive in the land, conducting themselves very much as if they meant to remain there. By the end of the year 1608, he had apparently begun to meditate hostilities; and the first symptom of this was a general refusal on the part of the Indians to exchange corn for the white men's tools and trinkets. This led Smith into an enterprise of extraordinary daring. With a party of about forty Englishmen in two small vessels, he made his way in midwinter up the York River to Werowocomoco, and afterward to the principal village of the Pamunkeys. In these visits, Smith showed that he was made of stuff quite comparable to that which carried Cortes through every difficulty. By a consummate mixture of threat with persuasion, dealing with each chieftain in exactly the right way, always knowing just what chord of superstition or greed to touch, Smith completely overawed the red men and got from them all the corn he wanted, with a royal supply of venison to boot. It was on this occasion that The Powhatan and his council, repenting of their former adoption of the Englishmen, laid a plot to surprise and destroy them in their quarters by the river-bank. This plot was opportunely revealed to them by Pocahontas. At Pamunkey, the audacity of the English captain seemed to reach its height when he seized his quondam captor, Opekankano, by his scalp-lock and forced him down upon his knees before the assembled frowning warriors, while he confronted him with the stern alternative, "Corn, or your life!" On this occasion, as always, our captain knew his man, and the corn was forthcoming. The net result of this expedition was to keep the Indians on a peaceful footing until after Smith's departure in the following autumn.

During the brief period of Smith's presidency, such discipline was maintained as the little colony had not before seen. People were kept at work, houses were built, broad fields of corn were planted, and a strong fortress was begun; while pigs and chickens brought from England seemed to ward off any further risk of famine. While these things were going on, the Virginia Company in London was reorganized. In May, 1609, it was incorporated under the name of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia." An attempt was made to define somewhat more strictly than hitherto the territorial jurisdiction of this company. It was to extend 200 miles north and 200 miles south from Old Point

Comfort, thus including the old southern zone, with about half of the middle zone. The reorganized company consisted of 659 individual shareholders, besides 56 shareholding trade-guilds. This company constituted a great primary assembly which was to meet four times in each year, and which was to elect an executive council that should have supreme power of legislation for Virginia, besides the power of appointing all colonial officers. Thus there was created in London a great self-governing corporation, which might—and in fact, presently did—become a formidable agency in political affairs. This corporation exercised a sovereignty as extensive as that of the East India Company,



FIG. 128.—Sir Thomas Smith.

in so far that it could not only enact tariff laws and collect the duties, but could also employ troops and engage in war whenever necessary for self-defence. One member of the Supreme Council, the treasurer, was virtually president over Virginia. The person chosen for this responsible office was a wealthy and distinguished merchant of London, named Sir Thomas Smith (Fig. 128). In the course of his life, he was patron of maritime enterprise in many directions, and was especially interested in Arctic navigation. His name has left its mark upon the modern map in Smith's Sound, the famous channel which leads out from Baffin's Bay directly toward the Pole.

In the local government of Virginia, a stroke of the pen wrought a complete revolution. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that circumstances had already wrought the revolution, and that the stroke of the pen now perpetuated it. Of the members of the original council, all except President Smith had either died or left the colony, so that the rule of that worthy had become autocratic; and now for the first time, quarreling and misery had given place to sober work and a promise of prosperity. Henceforth Virginia was to be governed by an officer who should be responsible to the company in London, but should have absolute authority over the settlers. It seemed, moreover, that a person of high rank should be sent, as being likely to receive more deference than would be accorded to a plain gentleman without any title. The choice fell upon an admirable person, Thomas West, Lord Delaware, chief of a family distinguished for public services, and himself not the least distinguished. In addition to his authority as a peer and as a man of recognized personal merit, he had that which belonged to him as a member of the privy council of James I. To strengthen his hand, two sturdy representatives of the army and navy were associated with him; the landsman was Sir Thomas Gates, the seaman Sir George Somers. In the early summer of 1609, a fleet of nine ships, carrying 500 emigrants and commanded by the worthy Newport, set sail for Virginia; but toward the end of the voyage, the little squadron was overtaken by a fearful storm, and one of the ships, named the *Sea Venture*, was driven far away from her consorts and at last beaten to pieces on the coast of one of the Bermuda Islands. All her people were saved. It so happened that in the *Sea Venture* were all the persons competent to exercise legitimate command in Virginia. Among the persons thus wrecked in the Bermudas were Gates and Somers, as well as Captain Newport; so that while they stayed there nearly a year, busily occupied in building two small vessels, the fortunes of their comrades after landing at Jamestown were strange enough. Among these comrades was once more that old acquaintance, who, like Zeus in the famous hymn of Cleanthes, had many names. Now, under the name of Ratcliffe, he claimed command over Jamestown, at least until Gates and Somers should arrive. We may observe that Lord Delaware had not yet started; he was to come somewhat later, with additional colonists and a great stock of provisions and tools. Ratcliffe's pretensions were not long allowed to disturb the peace, for Smith promptly locked him up. But the colony was soon to lose the services of that great man, to whose rare intelligence and unflagging energy it had owed

its salvation from the beginning down to that moment. In September, he was so badly wounded by an accidental explosion of gunpowder that it became necessary for him to be taken back to England. After his departure, the colony soon became a pandemonium. The newly arrived colonists were a wretched set of creatures, picked up about the streets of London; and when they had neither a strong man like Smith, nor a person in high authority, such as Delaware, to keep them in order, their depravity was not long in showing itself. They soon contrived to put an end to the peace which Smith had maintained with the Indians, and there were wholesale murders on both sides. The man of aliases, with two or three score of friends, was suddenly attacked, and all were put to death save two or three, who were carried to Werowocomoco to furnish amusement for their captors; in other words, they were in all probability to have been burned to death, had they not been rescued by Pocahontas. Among these prisoners was young Henry Spelman, son of the famous scholar and antiquarian, Sir Henry Spelman. His manuscript account of the affair was published a few years ago by Edward Arber, in his learned edition of John Smith's works; and those sapient critics who distrust the captain's word in telling of Indian customs had better now try their hands at discrediting Spelman's testimony likewise.

The hostility of the Indians had terrible results, for their raids soon swept away the settlers' hogs and chickens, while the supplies left by the ships were speedily consumed. Starvation with all its attendant horrors, including cannibalism, was not long in setting in. The misery and desolation can best be expressed by figures. In October, 1609, there were 500 people in Jamestown; in the following May, only 60 of these were living. In that month, the passengers of the wrecked *Sea Venture* arrived at Jamestown, with Gates and Somers and Newport. On looking over the situation, it was decided that the enterprise must be given up. The two small vessels built in Bermuda would now hold all the people, and it was decided to return to England. Jamestown was dismantled, all available effects were packed up, the sails were set and the prows turned down the river. In the course of American history, the waters of Hampton Roads have seen many strange and thrilling sights; never more so, perhaps, than on a March day of 1862, when two novel and powerful ironclad ships hammered lustily at one another in a crisis big with the fate of a nation. Yet it was a moment scarcely less thrilling and eventful, when, on a June morning in 1610, the English colony that was about to abandon America desisted

upon these waters the ships of Lord Delaware (Fig. 129) just arrived in time to rescue Virginia. The scene which ensued when that nobleman fell upon his knees on the sandy beach at Jamestown and uttered a prayer of thankfulness for this deliverance is one of the great scenes of human history never to be forgotten.

This arrival of Lord Delaware was simply a rescue, not a reformation. The new governor was able to enforce order, but the difficulties inherent in the situation were such as could not really be cured by any exercise of intelligence and will on the part of one man. Some economic cure was needed that had not yet been found. In the following spring, ill health compelled Lord Delaware to return to England;



FIG. 129.—Lord Delaware.

Gates, his lieutenant, had already gone to inform the company of the state of affairs, and the veteran Somers had died. Presently Newport arrived with 300 new colonists, and with them a governor who knew how to control the most refractory material that ever existed. This was Sir Thomas Dale, a man who had spent his life in camps and on the battlefield, taking and giving hard knocks. He had not the breadth of mind and tactfulness which distinguished Smith; but when he could not conciliate opposition, he crushed it. Among the complaints against him which were carried home to the ears of the company, no one ever accused him of slothfulness or want of integrity; but there were those who accused him of cruelty, and among the punishments which he

inflicted we hear of starvation and breaking on the wheel, but such cases seem to have been extremely rare.

It is much to Dale's credit, however, that he looked beneath the surface, and not only discerned, but on his own authority applied, one of the economic cures required by the situation. He abolished the system of industrial communism which had obtained since 1607. Each one of the colonists was allowed three acres to cultivate for himself. For this small farm, he was to pay a yearly rent of six bushels of maize. Whatever else he could raise in grain or live stock, he could keep for himself. From all the detailed accounts we can get, it would seem that the effect of this change was simply wonderful. Industry at once began to prevail, even among these lawless and thriftless people, as soon as it was understood that the poorest workers were no longer to be equally rewarded with the best. It was also during Dale's administration that the other economic cure for the situation began to be tried. In 1612, a gentleman named John Rolfe, who was afterward secretary for the colony, began making experiments in the cultivation of tobacco. The use of that mild narcotic was fast becoming fashionable in Europe, so that within four years the demand for its exportation had become a noticeable feature in the economies of Virginia. When this cure was applied to the situation, the problem of founding a self-supporting English state in America began to approach its solution. A commercial stimulus had been found which would draw thither persons of good business heads and established characters. These two things, a steady remunerative industry and the assurance that each man should enjoy the fruits of his own labor, were the two things required to bring order out of chaos.

It would hardly be right to leave Dale's administration without some mention of the marriage of Pocahontas and her visit to England. In 1614, she was married to John Rolfe, whom we have recently mentioned as having begun the cultivation of tobacco for export. Two years afterward, Rolfe took his Indian bride to London, where she was received at court as a princess. It was on this occasion that Captain Smith, who had lately returned from exploring the coast of New England, wrote a letter to the queen, in which he mentioned the various services which the Indian girl had rendered to the English, including her rescue of himself.

To this visit we owe the interesting portrait of Pocahontas, painted by one of the court artists. As she was about returning to Virginia, after she had gone on board ship, Pocahontas (Fig. 130) fell sick and

died at Gravesend, where her grave is still to be seen. She left a little son, who became the progenitor of many distinguished families in Virginia.

The ship which carried Rolfe and his wife to London carried also Sir Thomas Dale, who had business at home demanding his attention. After a brief rule by George Yeardley, a new deputy governor was appointed whose name was Samuel Argall. This young man had



FIG. 130.—Pocahontas. (From an engraving in the collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

already somewhat distinguished himself as a sea-rover. He had crossed the Atlantic several times, and under Dale's administration had patrolled the North American coast and broken up the French settlements at Port Royal in Nova Scotia and on Mount Desert Island. The ship in which Pocahontas was to have returned carried Argall to Virginia. There he made himself very unpopular. His rule was as stern and despotic as Dale's; but whereas Dale was a man of integrity, Argall was a dishonest rogue, and complaints about him soon began coming back to England.

Great changes were now coming over Virginia and over the government of the Virginia Company. The rapid increase of the demand for tobacco was drawing to Virginia a considerable population of industrious planters, and society was fast assuming a higher tone than heretofore. Such people were naturally dissatisfied with the company and with the kind of governors it sent out. The Virginia Company, under the guidance of its treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, was inclined to regard Virginia simply from the point of view of the dividends which could be paid over to the shareholders ; and as for despotic governors, it was all well enough for a man like Dale to keep vagabonds and jail-birds in order with a heavy hand, but when it came to sending the unscrupulous Argall to put his hands in the pockets of honest planters, that was quite another thing. But about this time a great change came over the Virginia Company. In that body, the warring political parties of the day were both represented. Sir Thomas Smith belonged to the court party, which a few years later formed the nucleus of the Cavaliers. The opposing country party, the members of which came afterward to be known as Roundheads, was represented in the company by three illustrious men, who had many points of sympathy with Puritanism, although, like most of the Puritans at that moment, they had not left the Established Church. These men were Henry, Earl of Southampton, well known as the dear friend of Shakespeare ; Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the Archbishop of York, one of the ablest men in the House of Commons ; and Nicholas Ferrar, one of the most beautiful characters in English history, who is to-day perhaps chiefly remembered for the Protestant monastery which he maintained for a while at Little Gidding. So much ability was shown in the debates which occurred at the meetings of the company, that it had come to be recognized in London as a great political power, and both the king's party and their opponents felt an intense interest in its proceedings.

Under these circumstances, the company's election of a treasurer in the spring of 1619 assumed the character of a great political event. On that occasion, Sir Thomas Smith was defeated and Sir Edwin Sandys was chosen in his place. This event was the beginning of five years of such unselfish and enlightened administration as the world has too seldom seen. There is no name in the whole course of American history which stands for loftier virtue and unselfish devotion to the public service than that of Sir Edwin Sandys. Americans should not forget that it was he who introduced representative government into America. Hitherto, ever since 1493, when the Spanish sovereigns had created a Council

for the Indies, with the ungodly Fonseca at the head of it, men's only conception of the government of a colony had been that of despotism. There were evil despots like Ovando and Pedrarias, as there were good despots like Cortes and Champlain; and the power of the despot might to some extent be limited by an advisory council or checked by a residencia; still it was always a despotism, and the colonists had nothing like self-government. Such was the rule in the Spanish and French colonies, and such it always remained with them. Such had been the rule in the early days of Virginia; but now, when complaints of misgovernment came to the ears of Sir Edwin Sandys, that wise man realized that from time immemorial Englishmen had been used to govern themselves, and even in the worst of times were very chary of enlarging the political powers of their kings. What was good for Englishmen at home ought to be good for them abroad, and accordingly the planters of Virginia should henceforth have a little parliament of their own.

During the eleven years from 1607 to 1618, the population of Virginia had slowly risen to 1000, while many more lives than that had been sacrificed in the early attempts. Now the single year 1618 saw the population rise from 1000 to 2000, and migration was going on more briskly than ever. The limits of Jamestown had for some time been overflowed, and there were eleven constituencies known as boroughs, each of which was to send two representatives to the little parliament. These little settlements were stretched along the banks of the James River, from what we now call Dutch Gap all the way down to Hampton. Their twenty-two representatives were known as burgesses; and from that time forth until the Declaration of Independence, the popular assembly of Virginia was known as the House of Burgesses. Along with this assembly, there sat as an upper house or senate the governor's council, a body which filled its own vacancies. Over the council the governor presided, while the House of Burgesses had its presiding speaker, like the House of Commons in England. From the outset, it was asserted and distinctly understood that no governor could levy or collect so much as a penny in taxes, except by the consent of the House of Burgesses. The prototype of this popular assembly was the ancient English county court, which was made up of representatives from all the townships or parishes within the county. In the days before the Norman conquest, the meetings of this shirenote or county court were usually attended by the reeve and four discreet men from each township; but in later times, the number of representatives was oftener only two, and two was the number of representatives from

the counties in the first House of Commons called together by Simon de Montfort in 1265. Like the old county court, this Virginia assembly had powers judicial as well as legislative. For many cases, it was an ultimate court of appeal ; and in many others, it had original jurisdiction. The case was precisely the same with the legislatures of the New England colonies, a fact which is commemorated in their name. To this day, the legislature of Massachusetts is known as the General Court. In like manner, the old Spanish parliaments, which were so ruthlessly trampled under foot by the despots of the sixteenth century, were known as Cortes. Before leaving the Virginia assembly, it should be mentioned that its enactments, after passing both houses and receiving the governor's signature, needed to be confirmed by the Virginia Company in London at its Court of Quarter Sessions. At the same time, the Virginia Company could make decrees for Virginia ; but in order to acquire validity, such decrees must be approved by the assembly at Jamestown.

Thus the year 1619 is ever memorable as the year which saw English free institutions take root in America. It is also memorable for another and less cheerful event : it marked the beginnings of a hateful institution which nearly worked the ruin of the United States. In the course of that summer, twenty negroes from Africa were brought in and sold to the colonists. Many years were to elapse, however, before negro labor became a noticeable feature in Virginia.

That same year 1619 witnessed an illustration of the paternal care of the company for its colonists, such as seems rather quaint at the present day, when we are so used to letting things take care of themselves. In order to have good citizens, it was necessary that there should be pleasant homes ; and like most new colonies, that of Virginia suffered from a dearth of wives. The company therefore began sending shiploads of eligible young women—voluntarily recruited, of course—who, upon their arrival in Virginia, were allowed to choose for themselves out of the swarms of suitors by whom they were sure to be surrounded. The expense of this benevolent enterprise was defrayed by the fortunate suitors themselves, each of whom was required before marriage to pay the cost of his bride's outward voyage ; for among the many virtues of Sir Edwin Sandys, a canny thrift was not lacking.

That same excellent man, worthily seconded by Southampton and Ferrar, contemplated the founding of a college on the bank of James River. Funds were subscribed, a president was appointed, and the enterprise was progressing favorably, when a sudden and terrible blow fell upon the little colony. Opekankano was now the head war-chief of

the Powhatan confederacy. For several years, the demeanor of the Indians had been friendly, and the colonists had become so used to their company, as they moved freely about among the plantations, that all fear of them had been forgotten. In the year 1622, as suddenly as a flash of lightning in a cloudless sky, an attack was made upon the settlements, at almost the same moment, from the mouth of James River as far up as the site of Richmond. More than 300 persons were murdered, among them the president of the new university. Before the colony had recovered from this shocking affair, news came that the king was meditating the overthrow of the Virginia Company.

This report was true. The king could not look without alarm upon the existence of such a powerful organization under the control of such statesmen as Sandys and his friends; so he first tried to interfere with the company's annual election of its treasurer in 1620. It was his wish to see Sir Thomas Smith reinstated in authority. This impudent interference met with a rebuke against which even James I. did not think it prudent to contend. So, having failed to remodel the company, he made up his mind to destroy it. Complaints and accusations were plentiful enough. Before the development of tobacco culture in 1618, there had been, as we have seen, misery enough. There had certainly been great loss of life and much mismanagement, as was not strange in such a new enterprise. Nothing could be easier than for unscrupulous tale-bearers to set down these facts to the discredit of the administration of Sandys and his friends. The struggle, which went on for two years, was full of interesting incidents. The more furiously the king raged against the company, the more earnestly did the colonists protest that they were well satisfied with their government and hoped no change would be made in it. Nevertheless, the king at length prevailed, through the agency that proved so helpful to his son and his two grandsons, as well as to himself. The period of those Stuart kings was marked by the subserviency and corruptibility of the courts, although in their worst days they never sank quite so low as courts have been seen to sink in France during the present age. King James brought a suit of *quo warranto* against the Virginia Company. The argument of the attorney-general who represented the king in this action was a masterpiece that has rarely been approached. He reminded his hearers that the charter of the company allowed it to carry British citizens across the ocean to Virginia, and to this privilege it affixed no limit. What, then, if the company should carry all the inhabitants of Great Britain across to America, leaving the island a mere preserve for deer and rab-

bits? Could Englishmen look tamely upon the mere possibility of such a catastrophe? Were not such powers far too extensive to be granted by his Majesty to any corporation? Clearly, therefore, this charter was unconstitutional. In reading such an argument, one is reminded of a favorite remark of Blackstone, that English law is the perfection of reason; and one fancies that Sergeant Buzfuz, in preparing his famous argument in *Bardell vs. Pickwick*, must have taken hints from the attorney-general of James I. His plea was accepted by the Chief Justice. The writ was granted, and the sovereignty of the great Virginia Company thus came to an end in 1624.

Although this event was for the moment highly displeasing to the colony, there can be little doubt that in the long run it was conducive to the freedom and prosperity of Virginia. It will be understood that this overthrow of the company did not deprive it of its trading privileges as a merchant corporation. What it took away was not these trading privileges, but the sovereignty which the company had exercised in Virginia. That sovereignty was now resumed by the king; but before James had found time to make any new arrangements for the colony, death carried him off. Now it happened that his successor, Charles I., was very desirous of obtaining a monopoly of the tobacco trade. He therefore, in 1626, addressed a message to the Virginia assembly, in which he expressly recognized the House of Burgesses as a constituent portion of the government of that colony. Both on this occasion and many subsequent ones, he endeavored to bring about some arrangement whereby the colonists might sell to him at a stipulated price all their tobacco raised for export. The burgesses, perceiving this desire, pursued a non-committal policy from year to year, sometimes speaking fair words, but never lending their aid to the scheme. After his attempt to govern without parliament had begun in 1629, the king got into difficulties that grew more and more complicated, so that the colony of Virginia was left far more to itself and became more independent than ever before. Indeed, this independence was carried so far as to end in the expulsion of an unpopular governor. In 1630, Sir John Harvey came to Jamestown to take the reins of government. He turned out to be rapacious, tyrannical, and ill-mannered, inasmuch that after five years the burgesses performed an action which is quaintly described in the colonial records as "thrusting Sir John Harvey out of his government." He was put in custody and taken as a prisoner to London, while a substitute was appointed by the burgesses to serve as governor until the king's pleasure should be known.

King Charles' pleasure turned out to be displeasure. Nothing could exceed his rage at the impudence of these bumpkins of the wilderness

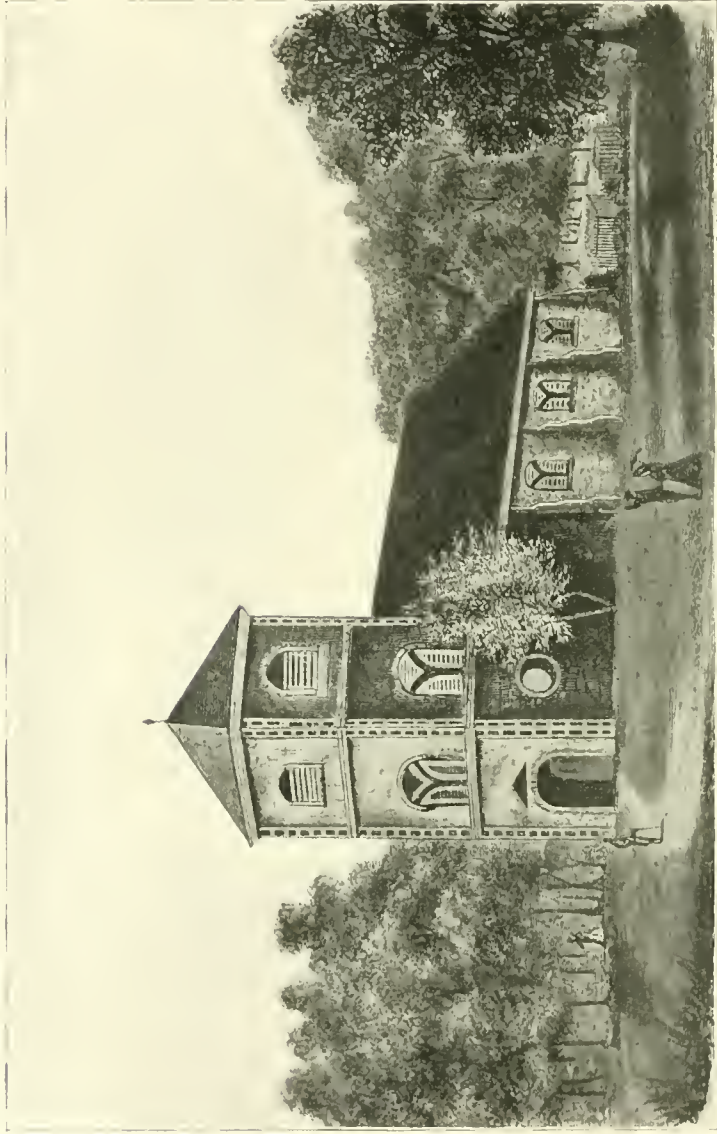


FIG. 131.—Old Smithfield church, 1632. (Meade's "Old Churches," vol. i.)

in daring to "thrust out" from them the duly accredited representative of the king's sacred majesty. He vowed that Governor Harvey should go back, but seems to have been in no great hurry about it; for two

years elapsed before that obnoxious person returned to Virginia, and then, after two years more, the king recalled him, for it was a time when Charles' enemies were getting so numerous that he did not wish to add to the number. At last, in 1642, there came to Virginia the most famous, though far from the best, of all her royal governors. In a future chapter, we shall have more to say about Sir William Berkeley. His coming nearly coincided with the outbreak of the Great Rebellion in England, and here we may fitly pause in our account of the settlements on James River, and turn aside for a moment to see what was going on in the region once known as North Virginia.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW ENGLAND THEOCRACY.

IN studying the history of the Protestant Reformation in England, we must clearly distinguish between the two forces which co-operated in bringing about that great event. One was the spirit of local independence which led the people heartily to support their government in refusing to submit to any claims of overlordship on the part of the papacy. A weak king, like John, might grovel in the dust before Innocent III.; but such conduct was viewed with disgust by his people. On the other hand, the national sentiment powerfully upheld Edward I. and Edward III. in their statutes of *praemunire*, which made it a high misdemeanor for anybody to acknowledge any authority in England higher than the crown. When the revolt of Henry VIII. practically converted this *praemunire* into high treason, strange sights were witnessed in England; monasteries were rifled of their treasures, abbots hung in their own courtyards, an archbishop of Canterbury and a lord chancellor, men greatly loved and honored, were brought to the block, and yet Henry could count with certainty upon popular support. This national feeling of loyalty to England was so strong that in the days of the Invincible Armada the Catholic gentry took sides with Queen Elizabeth and fought against the Spaniard with as much zeal and valor as anybody. The state of things was notably different from what it was in France, where for nearly a century there was a Catholic party which sympathized more strongly with the Spaniards than with its Huguenot fellow-countrymen.

But this strength of national loyalty, this love of national independence, would not of itself have made the English reformation what it was. Under the influence of that force alone, it might well enough have stopped short at the point reached by Henry VIII., who remained a Catholic in his theology even while he repudiated the pope's authority. The other force in operation was an earnest zeal on the part of many persons for a genuine reform of the Church in doctrines and in ritual. There was a dim recognition of the fact that the Roman church had engrafted upon primitive Christianity much that was essentially pagan,

and there was a desire to rid the current religion of this heathen element. Such a desire was naturally accompanied by a disposition to test the body of doctrine and ritual by a reference to the Scriptures; while in opposition to this critical tendency, the Roman church insisted that the Scriptures could be properly interpreted only by the priesthood and were not fit reading for the laity. The beginnings of the reforming tendency are distinctly visible in the fourteenth century, the latter half of which was marked by the profound and scholarly teachings of Wyclif. The increasing numbers of his followers, who were commonly known as Lollards or "babblers," led in 1401 to the enactment of the law *De Hæretico Comburendo*, under the operation of which several persons were burned at the stake. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Lollards were to a great extent silenced, but were very far from being suppressed. Their ways of thinking thrived in quiet, so that by the time of Henry VIII. the Lollard leaven had deeply affected the English nation. These Lollards were the spiritual ancestors, and in a great many cases also the physical ancestors, of the Puritans. Their typical preacher in the sixteenth century was Hugh Latimer, a man who for Titanic force of character and large-hearted humanity, must be named by the side of Martin Luther. When Froude describes this venerable preacher shortly before his martyrdom as the greatest man then living in the world, he is not far from right. Under the impulse of Latimer and other preachers, Lollardism once more reared its head in a popular movement which hurried on the Reformation to far greater lengths than the English government had ever contemplated. After the brief Spanish fury of Mary's reign, Lollardism reappears under the name of Puritanism. One of Mary's most illustrious victims, Bishop Hooper, has often been called the first of the Puritans. Many of his friends and followers escaped his dreadful fate by fleeing to Geneva; and when they came back from that port of refuge, they brought with them the theology of John Calvin. Yet these men did not leave the Church of England; a secession was not their aim. They wished to remain within the church and mould it according to their ideas. But these ideas were so far allied with political notions somewhat democratic that they soon came into direct opposition with the government. The English church, as it was actually developed in the midst of these opposing ideas, pre-eminently represents the spirit of compromise, and it has ever since retained something of the flexibility and liberality which that spirit of compromise exemplified. At the present day, the Church of England finds room for

men as far apart as Dr. Pusey and Matthew Arnold; from the very borders of Romanism down to the confines of Unitarianism, it spreads its hospitable mantle over countless shades of opinion and ritual.

But this breadth of spirit could not be acquired in a moment. During the whole century from the accession of Elizabeth to the death of Cromwell, the Puritans were the driving-wheel that carried on the work of political and religious reform, and it was inevitable that many of them should sooner or later find the church organization too conservative for their purposes. Thus, in the middle of Elizabeth's reign, arose the little sect known as Separatists or Brownists, from one Robert Brown, a man of rather weak fibre, who led them for a while, but presently lost heart and recanted. These Separatists were disliked by everybody: not only by conservative churchmen, but by those Puritans who were angry with them for going a little farther than themselves. Such Puritans were anxious to show that they were not Separatists, and consequently joined in reviling the latter. In the position which these Brownists occupied, there was one very uncomfortable feature: they denied that the queen was, any more than the pope, the head of Christ's Church on earth; since the only head of that Church was Christ Himself. Now this denial of the queen's supremacy might easily be interpreted as treason, and in fact it was now and then so construed; and more than one Separatist who announced his belief too boldly expiated his rashness upon the gallows.

In those perilous days, the natural refuge for English heretics was Holland. Between England and the Netherlands, the relation had for centuries been intimate and friendly, and this friendly intimacy was perhaps never so great as in the last days of Elizabeth, whom the worthy Dutchmen once begged to be queen over them as well as over their English consins. The influence of Holland upon England was for a long time so much greater than is commonly realized that a few words on that subject will not be out of place. The intimacy originated as early as the twelfth century in the double fact that the wool of English sheep was the best in the world, while the best spinners and weavers were to be found in the Netherlands; the two countries were therefore closely dependent upon one another. A disaster to English sheep would throw Dutch and Flemish weavers out of employment by stopping their supplies; while on the other hand, any calamity that entailed the stoppage of Netherland looms would deprive English farmers of their best market for wool. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many Netherland weavers found it for their interest to cross the Channel

and set up their industries on English soil. At first the greater part of these immigrants settled in the eastern counties, although in later ages the weaving industries moved westward and northward. During the period when the house of Lancaster was having its long struggle with the Lollards, it was noticed that the heresy was especially rife in the eastern counties. The same fact was noticed in the sixteenth century, when more than four-fifths of the martyrdoms under Mary Tudor occurred east of the meridian of London. This same eastern region was afterward noted as that which sent out by far the greatest portion of the Puritan emigration to New England, while, in spite of the diminution in its numbers thus caused, it nevertheless constituted in the great civil war the main strength of the Parliament's army. This remarkable group of facts may possibly be to some extent due to the circumstance that the region in question was the most thoroughly Scandinavian part of England, being that which was first conquered by the English themselves from Sleswick, and was afterward repeatedly overrun by Vikings from Denmark and Norway. It was in the region once called the Danelaw that Puritanism held its head so high. But, after all, the character of this region was doubtless more immediately due to its intercourse with the Netherlands. In these days of ocean navigation, when Liverpool and Glasgow are great shipping centres for the whole transmarine world, it is quite natural that the most cosmopolitan parts of England outside of London should be the western parts; but in the Middle Ages it was just the reverse. Then the western part of England, which was turned away from the Continent, was far less cosmopolitan than the eastern and southeastern parts, which faced the Netherlands. In those days the civilization of the Low Countries was far more cosmopolitan, and on the whole more advanced, than that of England. In the time of Elizabeth, the influx of population from the Continent to the island became greater than ever. More than 100,000 Flemings and Dutchmen came over to England to escape Spanish persecution. These refugees were presumably all Calvinists, and must of course have contributed powerfully to the strength of the Puritan party; precisely to what extent cannot be determined without minute research into family histories and parish records, for so many Dutch names either received an English spelling, like Dwight for Dewitt, or became translated, like Timmermann into Carpenter, that their families soon lost all marks that might distinguish them from old inhabitants of England.

The first exhibition of Separatism on a noticeable scale occurred in the congregations of Serooby and Austerfield, two villages at the junc-

tion of the three counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham. After the failure of the Hampton Court conference in 1604, William Brewster, the village squire of Serooby, withdrew from the regular services of the church and held meetings in his own drawing-room in the manor-house. These meetings were frequently attended by a contingent from Austerfield; and in this party was a lad of unusual strength and purity of character, a fine linguist and accomplished scholar, named William Bradford. Associated with these two was a clergyman from the University of Cambridge, John Robinson, who afterward became the pastor of this little flock. In 1606, their independent church received such slight organization as it needed. Before a year had elapsed, they had received so much annoyance as to make them think of migrating in a body to Holland; and this scheme was effected in 1609, when they went over to Leyden and there engaged in various occupations and mingled on friendly terms with the citizens, from whom, nevertheless, the slight difference in language tended to keep them apart.

Now it happened that this year 1609 was that in which the Spanish government, thoroughly exhausted with forty years of war, accorded to the Dutch a truce of twelve years. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the Dutch allowed the Spaniards to put the treaty in this form in order to save their self-respect, very much as the Americans in 1777 allowed General Burgoyne to call the articles which surrendered his army by the soothing name of the "Convention of Saratoga." However that may have been, it left the Spaniards free to invade the country again in 1621; and as that time approached, the Pilgrims began to discuss the question whether their situation might not be improved. If they had remained in Holland, they would soon have become Dutchmen, just as the refugees from the Netherlands in past generations had become Englishmen, or just as at a later time the Huguenots of New York and South Carolina became Americans. These Pilgrims wished to maintain their English speech and traditions, and there seemed no better way of doing this than to cross the ocean and plant a Puritan colony in America. To this end they first applied to the States-General of the Netherlands to allow them to go and settle in the country between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, of which the Dutch had lately taken possession. But this the Dutch government refused to do. They were on friendly terms with England, and hoped to avoid any quarrels with that power, which might arise from their having occupied a portion of North America which the English claimed as their own. It therefore seemed best not to take into that domain a colony of English refugees.

Foiled in this first attempt, the Pilgrims applied to the Virginia Company for a grant of land within its territory. This they obtained; and as the king made no objection to their going, a part of their number embarked at Delfthaven in July, 1620, in the ship *Speedwell*. This party was led by Brewster and Bradford and Miles Standish, while Robinson and the rest of the congregation remained at Leyden. On arriving at Southampton, they were joined by the *Mayflower*, and the two ships stood forth to sea; but the *Speedwell* leaked so badly that they were more than once obliged to put back. At length the *Mayflower*, on the 6th of September, started alone from Plymouth to cross the ocean. They encountered such foul weather that the reckoning was

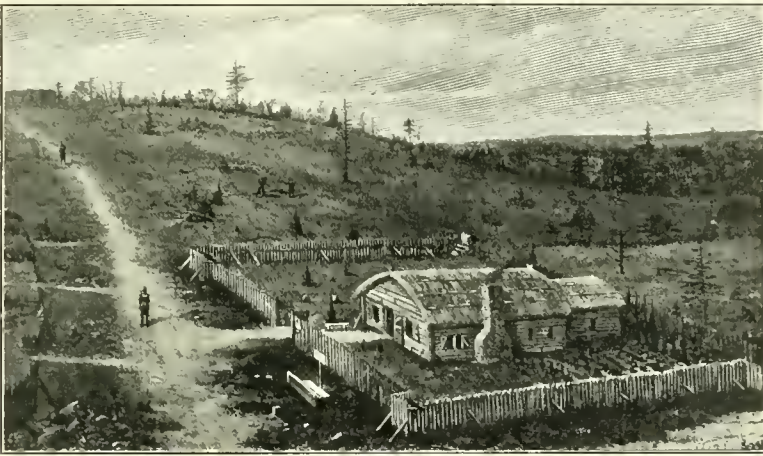


FIG. 132.—Gov. Bradford's house at Plymouth, Mass., 1621. (By permission of Mr. A. S. Burbank, Plymouth.)

quite lost, and instead of some point near Delaware Bay where they intended to make their home, they found themselves on the 9th of November off the northern shore of Cape Cod. Presently they decided to take no further risk, but land somewhere in the neighborhood and seek to obtain a patent from the Plymouth Company. After spending some five weeks in exploring the coast, they reached a spot which pleased them, and, landing there, they soon reared the cabin which scantily sheltered them during the first winter. They called the place Plymouth, after the last port in England from which they had set sail. After the *Mayflower* had left them, their sufferings were as great as those which had destroyed the Popham colony; but the determination of these exiles for religion's sake was greater than that which animated any mercantile

company. More than half of the number died; yet the next autumn looked upon a village street already built, and witnessed the gathering of a plentiful harvest. In the course of the year 1621, the settlers obtained from the Plymouth Company a grant of land in which their settlement was included. It was paid for by yearly instalments, and by 1633 the account was entirely settled. By that time—so slow had been the growth of the little colony—its numbers were scarcely more than 300. This founding of Plymouth is significant not so much in itself as in the example which it set for subsequent colonists to follow.

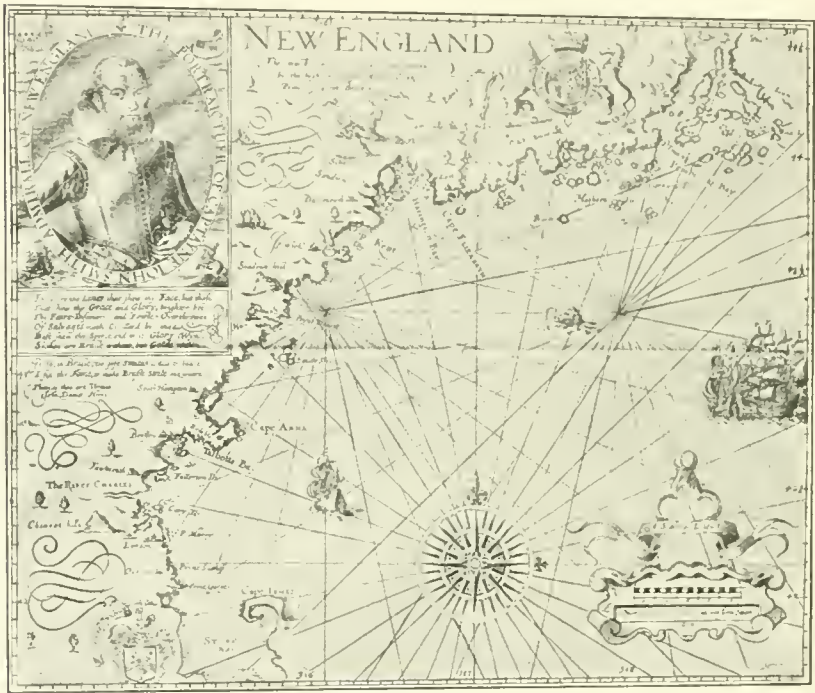


FIG. 133.—John Smith's Map of New England. (From Smith's works edited by Arber.)

To any observer before the year 1630, indeed, the settlement of Plymouth by the Pilgrims would probably have seemed only one among a number of small settlements, any one of which was as likely to attain historic fame as itself. It is interesting to see how gradually this North Virginia shore was approached. After the visits of Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth in the first years of the century, the reports of the Popham colonists seem for a time to have discouraged further attempts. Then came the exploring voyage of Captain John Smith in 1611, which

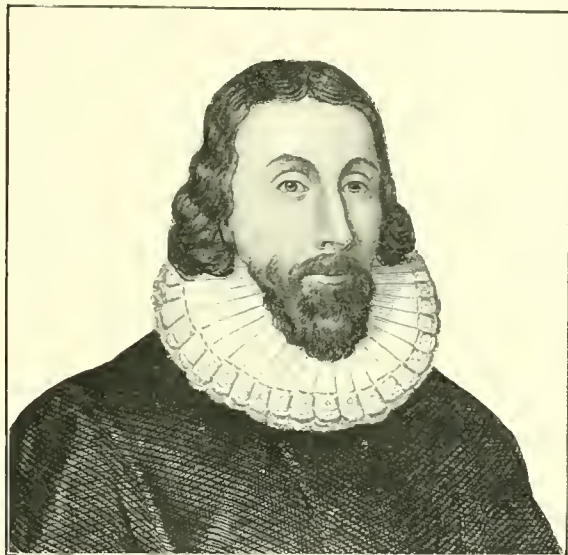
gave us an excellent map of the coast. It was John Smith who first called the country New England instead of the names North Virginia and Norumbega, by which it had been vaguely known. There is thus a special appropriateness in the monument to this hero which was erected many years ago on one of the Isles of Shoals. The voyages of Thomas Dermer just preceded that of the *Mayflower*, and in 1622 there were two other attempts at colonizing the New England coast. Thomas Weston's settlement at Wessagusset was a total failure. As for Thomas Morton, he stayed long enough to scatter some firebrands of dissension. One of the most active members of the Plymouth Company was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth in Devonshire. It was the wish of Sir Ferdinando to colonize the New England coast, and he had felt keenly disappointed by the sad failure at the mouth of the Kennebec. But the men whom he sent out were not at all congenial to the pious and dignified settlers at Plymouth. This Thomas Morton began building his houses at a place which he called Merry-mount, on the site of the present town of Quincy. There he not only planted a tall Maypole and frisked about it with his people, but sold muskets to the Indians; so that in 1628, Miles Standish felt called upon to march to Merry-mount and disperse the settlers. Two other agents of Gorges had by this time made homes for themselves along the coast: one was William Blackstone, who had selected for his lonely home a hilly peninsula on Massachusetts Bay, the Algonquin name of which was Shawmut; and on an island since known as Noddle's Island, hard by this peninsula, dwelt Samuel Maverick, a man, as we are told, "of very loving and courteous demeanor, but too much in favor of the lordly prelatical power." This, of course, means that he was a staunch adherent of the Established Church. For all his courteous manner, he strongly disapproved of Puritans, and they strongly disapproved of him. Then there was Roger Conant, who came first to Plymouth, but found himself unable to approve of the Separatism or Independency which he found rife there. So this worthy Episcopalian, at the head of a few sympathizers, betook himself to Cape Ann; and while he was beginning to build houses there, another party coming from England landed on the same spot. These were the Dorchester adventurers, so called from the county town of Dorset, and their object was to catch codfish. After some words of contention, things were amicably settled with these newcomers, and Conant was chosen leader of the Dorchester men in addition to his own. It was then thought that a place called Naumkeag, somewhat nearer the Shawmut peninsula, was better suited to their pur-

poses; and so Conant began building there, when still another party arrived upon the scene.

One of the persons most zealously interested in the planting of Protestant states in America was John White, a Puritan clergyman of Dorchester, who remained within the Established Church. This worthy man was one of the first to realize that vagabonds and jail-birds are not the right sort of persons with which to build up successful states. He saw that it was necessary to pick and select one's men. While this matter was being discussed in London, there came to the front a man of upright life and iron will, named John Endicott, who declared himself willing to lead a company of godly persons into the wilderness. So it happened that in the spring of 1628 a grant was obtained from the Plymouth Company, and its extent was declared with unconscious *nécessité* to be from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three south of the Charles in one direction, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific in the other. Such was the princely domain in which the worthy Endicott was to plant the seeds of righteousness. In the autumn of 1628, he landed at Naumkeag with a party of settlers, and at first there was some contention between these newcomers and Conant's men; but soon all amicably acquiesced in Endicott's leadership, and in token of this peaceful adjustment he called the place Salem, the Hebrew name for peace.

By this time, Mr. White's project had attracted the attention of some of the foremost men in the Puritan party; for since the development of the despotic tendencies of Charles I. in church and state, the old Country party had come to be known as the Puritan party, as their opponents, the Court party, had now come to be known as the Cavaliers. It is a common but very gross error which supposes that there was any marked difference in social position between the members of these two parties. Members of the nobility and gentry and persons holding public office were to be found among the Puritans as often as among the Cavaliers; and among all the colonists who came from England to America, there are none with more respectable pedigree than the members of the Puritan party who came to New England between 1629 and 1650. Two gentlemen were foremost among those who now began to urge on the progress of the affair: one was John Winthrop (Fig. 134), Lord of Groton Manor in Suffolk, a fine specimen of country squire, not only wealthy, but well educated; the other was Thomas Dudley, a member of the elder branch of the Sutton-Dudleys, to the younger branch of which family belonged the husbands of two unfortunate ladies, Jane Grey and Amy Robsart.

An important step was now taken in March, 1629, when a charter was granted to these and other gentlemen, incorporating them as the Company of Massachusetts Bay. In theory, this corporation was a joint stock trading company analogous to the London Company for Virginia, the fortunes of which we have already recounted. Its affairs were to be managed by a governor, deputy governor, and council of eighteen assistants, to be elected each year by the shareholders. This



Jo: winthrop
Gou^r

FIG. 134.—John Winthrop. (After an engraving by Shoupe, from an original portrait in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts.)

company was clothed with extensive powers and had the right of making laws for its settlers. No sooner had this charter been obtained than a fresh company of more than 100 persons, including a large number of women, with a considerable stock of cattle and goats, was sent over to Salem under the lead of Rev. Francis Higginson. This party, however, although larger than any that had yet come to New England, was only the precursor of something far more considerable.

During this year, 1629, it became evident that the king was intend-

ing, if possible, to rule without calling parliaments. In March, he had turned the House of Commons out of doors. The experiment of ruling without any legislative body to limit executive power was being successfully tried in France under Cardinal Richelieu; it remained to be seen whether Charles I. (PLATE XIV.) would succeed with a similar experiment in England. Under these circumstances, it occurred to the leading spirits of the Massachusetts Bay Company to cross the ocean to New England and carry their charter with them. In this important matter they took legal advice, and inasmuch as the charter had not mentioned any place in which the company was to hold its meetings, it appeared that there was no legal obstacle to this bodily transfer of the company across the Atlantic. The step, however, was one of prime importance; for when the governor, deputy governor, and council of assistants were once assembled on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, they at once constituted a republic with its own frame of government and subject to no other power in England save the king. And as we shall presently see, Charles I. had but little leisure for meddling with this new republic, while the government of the English Commonwealth had no disposition to molest it; so that New England practically remained unvexed until the accession of Charles II. For the growth of English self-government on American soil, this was a most auspicious circumstance. It is perfectly clear that the practical consequences implied in the transfer of the charter to Massachusetts were not generally foreseen at the time, though they were more or less distinctly intended by the leading gentlemen in the company.

Having made their decision, Winthrop and Dudley were prompt in acting. In the course of the year 1630, more than 1000 Puritans came to Massachusetts Bay and made the beginnings of Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Watertown. At their coming, the courteous Maverick moved away, saying that, on the whole, he preferred "the rule of the Lords Bishops to that of the Lords Brethren." The frolicsome Morton and other adherents of Gorges were summarily sent back to England.

It is clear that Winthrop and Dudley were prepared to expect some interference on the part of the king. There were rival claimants for the land recently granted to the Company of Massachusetts Bay. As long ago as 1623, Robert Gorges, a son of Sir Ferdinando, had obtained a patent for a considerable portion of what is now the eastern portion of Massachusetts. The elder Gorges also laid claim to the territory afterward known as Maine, while a certain John Mason had received a grant

PLATE XIV.



King Charles I.

of the land upon the Piscataqua River, where the beginnings of New Hampshire were afterward made. It was evident that these Episcopal neighbors and rivals might make trouble for the new Puritan colony. In view of such a possibility, it was thought best to choose for the seat of government some spot more defensible than the Shawmut peninsula, which some of the settlers called Tri-mountain, or Tremont, from a lofty triple-crested hill which crowned the site where the State House now stands. The name Boston, however, was soon preferred, in compliment to the Rev. John Cotton (Fig. 135), who had for many years been rector of the magnificent St. Botolph's church at Boston in Lincolnshire. The



FIG. 135.—Rev. John Cotton.

place chosen for the seat of government was on the marshy bank of the river which John Smith had named after the king when he was still the youthful Prince Charles. It was not more than three miles distant from Boston by the river; but as people ordinarily approached it by a round-about road through the present Brookline, the distance was reckoned eight miles, as we are informed by an old milestone still standing in the God's Acre opposite the west gate of the university. About a half-mile from the marshy bank, at a place since known as Harvard Square, Thomas Dudley built a house, and a few neighboring houses were built in the course of 1631. The unreclaimed marshes extending a quarter of a mile from the river made the place somewhat difficult of approach

for ships. For the present, no name was given to this intended capital ; it was simply called the New Town.

There were other possible enemies to be guarded against besides King Charles. Only a few miles distant, on the borders of Mystic pond, dwelt a tribe of Algonquins ruled by a squaw sachem ; while to the westward the place might be assailed by warriors from the Massachusetts or Great Hill in Milton, crossing the river in their bark canoes. It was therefore enacted by governor, deputy governor, and council of assistants that a wooden palisade should be built, starting from the river at what is now the foot of Ash Street, and describing a great semicircle so as to strike the shore again near the foot of Plympton Street. To pay for this wall, a special tax was imposed upon the various towns of the colony ; and now we have to note how quickly the ancient spirit of English liberty asserted itself in this new environment. The men of Watertown refused to pay their share of the tax, because it was imposed by a body in which they were not represented. After due discussion, it was admitted by the ruling body that this claim was a just one, and it was enacted that there should be a House of Deputies chosen by popular election in the several towns. Thus was obtained a House of Representatives, and it is to be noted that in its composition it agreed precisely with the governing assembly in Virginia. In the older colony we have governor, council, and House of Burgesses ; in the younger one we have governor, council, and House of Deputies. This likeness is of course but natural, since both were copies of the old English shire-mote or county court.

For men who realized the possibility of such a thing as an attack by the king's ships, it must be confessed that the leaders of the Massachusetts colony pursued a bold, not to say high-handed policy. Down to the present time, they had never formally separated themselves from the Church of England ; but for them the transfer to America necessarily involved such a separation. Clearly they had not come all this distance to let themselves be governed by pastors who should be appointed by Archbishop Laud. For them the head of the Church was not Charles I., but Jesus Christ ; and this point had been clearly understood by Endicott as soon as Higginson's party reinforced him at Salem. The settlers adopted a covenant and a confession drawn up by Higginson, whereupon he and the other clergyman, Samuel Skelton, proceeded to consecrate one another. Since both were already consecrated clergymen of the Church of England, this ceremony implied that they did not regard the former consecration as sufficient. It was followed by the solemn

ordination of the two ministers at the hands of a deputation of brethren elected by the church members. Thus, a truly Independent church was created. Some of the Salem colonists were displeased at such a radical measure, and two of them announced their intention of organizing an Episcopal church, whose rector would naturally be appointed by an English bishop. Endicott was not the man to tolerate anything of this sort, and he sent these two gentlemen back to England by the next ship. If they wanted Episcopacy, let them go where it flourished. When Winthrop and his party arrived, they similarly constituted themselves into Independent churches, and even went further. In 1631, it was enacted that no persons dwelling within the colony, except communing members of its Independent churches, should be allowed either to hold office or to vote at elections. The object of this illiberal provision is manifest. It was intended that the "Lords brethren should rule on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, and that no hostile power should be able to gain the slightest political foothold." The ideal of the leading spirits in the colony was a theocracy modelled somewhat after the Jewish pattern. They were to be Christ's viceregents in establishing a community of godly people who should form a united body of believers. There was to be no room there for heterodoxy; and as for the civil government of England, they paid just as little heed to it as possible. It cannot be denied that there was some point in what Samuel Maverick afterward told Charles II.: that the people of New England were all rebels at heart, and he could prove it.

The circumstances were indeed such as to require that the boldness of the settlers in Massachusetts should be duly tempered with prudence; and here it was fortunate that the ruling spirits in the community were two men eminent for tact and worldly wisdom. One of these was the governor, John Winthrop; and the other was John Cotton, teacher in the church at Boston. It was customary for the New England churches to have two ministers: one known as the teacher, whose office it was to expound intricacies of doctrine; the other called the pastor, whose function was rather that of exhorting and appealing to the emotions. In the church at Boston, the pastor, John Wilson, was a good deal of a fanatic; but his zeal was fortunately tempered by Cotton's wisdom. Some incidents which happened at Salem in the years 1633-36 show us how difficult was the course which the Massachusetts government had to steer. Master Endicott was a man of overmuch zeal; and one day he cut St. George's cross out of the flag, because he would not tolerate such an emblem of popery. Unfortunately, such an act might easily be cited

by Maverick and his friends as a proof of the rebellious character of the Puritans. Accordingly, in spite of the importance of Endicott in the colony, it became necessary for the sagacious Winthrop to summon him to Boston and have him publicly reprimanded by the council. Another thing which happened at Salem has been often misunderstood. The pastor of the church there was a young Welshman, a graduate of Cambridge, named Roger Williams. He carried his Protestant principles to much greater length than most of his contemporaries. He advocated the toleration of all forms of Christian religion and complete separation between church and state. His idea was that a true Christian commonwealth should consist of people who agreed to differ among themselves, and he thought that ministers should be supported by the free contributions of their hearers and not by taxes levied by the state. He would also have condemned all enforced attendance upon public worship, leaving such matters to be regulated by individual conscience and charitable public opinion. In all these points he was flatly opposed to what we may call the Massachusetts idea, according to which a true Christian commonwealth was one which expelled all persons who ventured to differ in belief from the mass of the community, while ministers should be supported by public taxation, and constables should, if necessary, visit people in their dwellings, and, unless they found them sick in bed, should drag them to the sanctuary.

Such opinions were liable to make Williams a thorn in the flesh of the magistrates at Boston. But another opinion which he took no pains to conceal would become positively dangerous if brought to the ears of the king. The Company of Massachusetts Bay professed to hold their territory as a grant from the English crown. It is true that they paid the Indians for all the land they occupied. It is a popular error, multiplied a thousand-fold in popular books, that William Penn was the only founder of an American state who paid the Indians for their land. Sometimes we hear it said by those who remember that Peter Minuit paid the Manhattan Indians for their island, that the Dutch and the Quakers were the only settlers who paid for their lands. These are gross errors. The practice of paying the Indians was common to all the settlers in what is now the territory of the United States. It was invariably done in New England, in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, as I have shown in "*The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*," where the subject is discussed at length.

But Roger Williams went much further than the Massachusetts authorities. He not only approved of their paying the Indians, but he

maintained that the only title which they could acquire in the territory passed to them from its rightful owners, the Indians, and not from the English crown, which could not give what it did not possess. In this opinion, perhaps more than in any other proclaimed by Williams, we seem to see the especially modern texture of his mind. According to the theories current in mediæval Europe, heathen people had no absolute ownership of the lands on which they dwelt. All heathen countries were fiefs of the papacy, all were properly subject to the vicergerent of Christ; and when the pope granted sovereignty over them to any Christian king, as in the grant of Alexander VI. to Spain and Portugal, he was simply resuming his rights over what was already his own. Now in Protestant England, since the king had become supreme head of the church, it was fair to suppose that the papal suzerainty over heathen lands had passed to the English crown. The opinion of Williams was a revolt against this whole mediæval fabric of thought, and we can readily understand how it should have seemed very dangerous to the rulers in Boston. Had they not difficulty enough already in steering clear of a contest with the king, but this audacious young preacher must come and interpose another and purely unnecessary obstacle in their path?

The result of all this was much discussion in Boston as to what should be done with this bold young man. Some were in favor of sending him back to England, but Winthrop was wiser. It was not good policy to have too many malcontents in England multiplying complaints against the way things were done in Boston. Moreover, Winthrop was a man of gentle methods, and, withal, had a liking for Williams. Winthrop, too, was tolerant after his own peculiar fashion. He could see no reason why Williams should not be allowed to do what he himself was doing: namely, go out into the wilderness and found a community after his own heart. So he notified him privately that he had better try his fortunes, with such followers as he could muster, on the shores of Narragansett Bay. Williams promptly followed this advice, and felt so warmly the prospect of good that seemed likely to come from it that he named his first settlement Providence.

Another secession from the Massachusetts Bay colony, and on a much larger scale, occurred at nearly the same time. There were men in the colony who, without going to nearly the same length as Williams, were nevertheless disinclined to accept a theocracy pure and simple. The strength of this party lay in Dorchester, Watertown, and the New Town, which had been selected as the seat of government. In a certain

sense, we may call it the democratic party among the Puritans. We have already noticed the protest of Watertown, which bore good fruit in introducing a representative assembly. Other questions brought out the differences of opinion which divided the two parties in the colony. The men of more democratic ideas wished to have a body of laws drawn up and printed, so that every person might know under just what law he was living. But the magistrates preferred to go by the laws of Moses as contained in the Pentateuch, supplemented by such decisions as might be made from time to time by the General Court of the colony. Obviously, such an arrangement put into the hands of the clergy a power which many persons thought too great. The disputes on this question lasted for many years and ended in the defeat of the more theocratical party when the first code of laws was published in 1649.

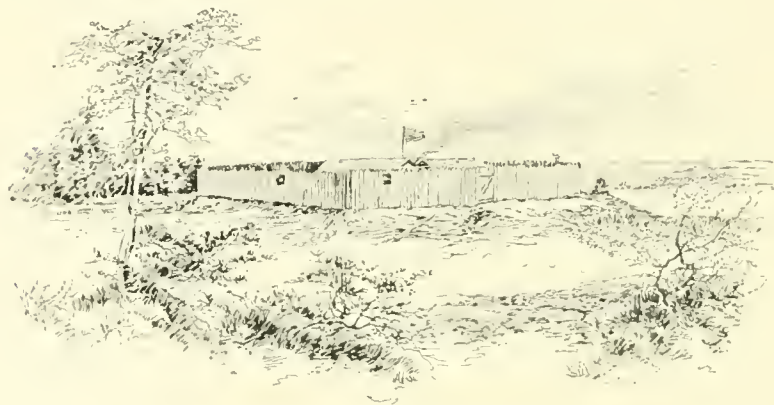


FIG. 136.—Saybrook fort in 1636. (From "Magazine American History," vol. xiii.)

Down at the bottom of the theocratic question lay the question of the franchise. We have seen that none but the communing members of the Congregational churches were allowed to vote or hold office. There were many who heartily disapproved of such a restriction, and there seems little doubt that this was the cause of the wholesale westward migration which occurred in 1635-36. One of the greatest of the leaders in the whole Puritan migration was Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church in the New Town. He was most prominent among the men opposed to the theocracy of Winthrop and Dudley. An interesting controversy between Winthrop and Hooker was conducted with much sweetness and courtesy; but there can be no doubt that there was much discontent in the three towns above mentioned, although few definite particulars have been preserved.

At this time, the designs of the Dutch settlers at New Amsterdam had come to attract serious attention in Boston. The Dutch and English governments were alike unwilling to disturb the friendship between them which had existed for centuries; yet there was some danger of collision between their colonists in America. The Dutch, unwilling to get into trouble with the settlers of Plymouth, had maintained that New Netherland extended eastward as far as Buzzard's Bay. At the time of which we are speaking, they seemed content with the Connecticut River for an eastern boundary, but were determined to keep



FIG. 137.—William Pynchon.

control of that stream. They were forestalled, however, by Lord Saye and Lord Brooke, two noblemen who obtained a grant of the territory thereabouts and sent as their agent John Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor. This able young man was first in the field and built a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, which he named after his two patrons, "Saye-Brooke." At this moment, a small company of Plymouth men had already occupied the site of Windsor, and there was a little outpost of Dutchmen isolated in a crazy blockhouse on the site of Hartford. In the summer of 1636 came the wave of migration which founded Connecticut. The congregations of Dorchester, Water-

town, and the New Town came in a body to the Connecticut River, led by their pastors, and founded three towns on its western bank. The Dorchester congregation founded Windsor, while Hooker and his people established themselves at Hartford, and the Watertown men pressed on a few miles further and founded Wethersfield. This migration left the three Massachusetts towns almost uninhabited. In the New Town, for example, only eleven families were left after the departure of Hooker's congregation, and in the neighborhood of Harvard Square were many empty houses crying for occupants. At about the same time, another party from Roxbury, led by William Pynchon (Fig. 137), made the beginnings of Springfield, where his statue may now be seen. This gentleman, who left behind him his name on one of the Roxbury streets, was of a somewhat heretical turn of mind; and a book which he published some years later enjoyed the distinction of being publicly burned in Boston by the common hangman.

In 1639, the three lower towns—Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield—held a convention and adopted a written constitution, which established the state of Connecticut, with Hartford for its seat of government. Into this combination Springfield did not enter, and after some time it was decided that she came within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. No serious opposition was made in Massachusetts to the secession of the Connecticut towns.

I am particular in giving these details because they illustrate most vividly the fundamental peculiarity of the New England migration. If the ordinary commercial motives had been dominant, there was more than room enough on Massachusetts Bay for all the settlers that had yet arrived—some 7000 perhaps, all told. It was the intensely strong individuality of these people, with their differences of opinion on questions both of religion and of civil polity, that led to the dispersion we have described. The first effect of this dispersion was to lead them into danger and bring on a formidable Indian war. In order to understand this, we must note the relations of the adjacent Indian tribes at the time of which we are speaking.

A short time before the Mayflower Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth, the whole coast of New England had been swept by a pestilence which is said to have carried off from half to three-fourths of the aboriginal population. The Indians with whom the Plymouth settlers came into contact were greatly demoralized and dispirited. These were the Wampanoags, sometimes called Pokanokets, whose principal villages were between Narragansett Bay and Cape Cod. Their war-chief, Massasoit,

made a treaty with the Plymouth men and committed no acts of hostility until 1675. North of these Indians and in the immediate neighborhood of Boston, were the Massachusetts, a tribe which took their name from the great hill now known as Blue Hill in Milton. The *Massa* in their name is the same Algonquin word as *Missi* in Mississippi, "great water." These red men were but the sorry remnant of a large tribe, and they gave the English but little trouble. Farther inland were much more powerful tribes. The mountainous region east of the Connecticut River was occupied by the Nipmucks, and that which lies upon the west belonged to the Mohegans; but this tribe had lately been so harassed by the terrible Mohawks that the larger portion of it had moved down into the lower valley of the Connecticut. The western shore of Narragansett Bay was occupied by the powerful tribe from which that water takes its name, while the country between the Narragansetts and the Mohegans was occupied by the Pequots, the most formidable of all the New England Indians. These Pequots were seeking to establish a supremacy over their Algonquin neighbors, and had made themselves especially vexatious to the Mohegans. As for the Mohawks, in their distant home beyond the Hudson, they claimed a lordship over all, and sent their collectors to gather tribute. The name of these Mohawks was an Algonquin name meaning cannibals. The flavor of Algonquin flesh was highly prized by them; and we are told that when a party of the irresistible Iroquois showed themselves upon a hilltop, any Algonquin who happened to see them would run at the top of his speed from village to village, a kind of aboriginal Paul Revere, screaming at the top of his lungs, "Man-eater! Man-eater!"

In such a state of things, it was natural that the planting of villages by white men on the bank of the Connecticut should arouse the spleen of the Pequots. It was not long before outrages were committed on both sides. It is said that the Pequot war-chief, Sassacus, sought to persuade the Narragansetts and Mohegans to unite with him and overwhelm the pale-faces. But Roger Williams, who had become fluent in Algonquin speech and possessed—like Las Casas, Cortes, John Smith, and Frontenac, in their various ways—the art of managing Indians, persuaded the Narragansetts into an alliance with the whites. As for the Mohegans, they were glad to help in picking a rod for their hated neighbors, and they too took sides with the English. The situation soon became intolerable. The English were not accustomed to seeing their friends and relatives scorched to death with fire-brands or gashed and maimed according to the Indians' artistic methods, and presently

they decided to teach the red men a lesson. Never was such a lesson taught with more convincing emphasis. Hartford sent to Boston for aid, but obtained only a portion of what was expected. With this portion and with a handful of Indian allies, the Connecticut men proceeded against the main stronghold of the enemy not far from the site of Stonington. They were commanded by two bold and skillful captains, John Mason and John Underhill. On a moonlight night in May, 1637, they surprised the Indian village, carried it by storm, destroyed it by fire, and slew all but half a dozen of its 700 or 800 inhabitants. It took just seventy-seven Englishmen to strike this appalling blow. It was followed by a desultory pursuit of the Pequots westward along the shore of the Sound as far as Black Rock, beyond the site of Bridgeport. Nothing had ever occurred in the red man's experience at all comparable to this. Here was a whole tribe suddenly wiped out of existence by so few out of all the swarming numbers of white men. The Indian mind was most profoundly impressed, and more than a whole generation passed away before it again presumed to try conclusions with the strangers.

We have observed that in this affair the Connecticut men obtained but slight help from Boston. The explanation of this is something which would never occur to the modern mind. The cause lay in the regions of transcendental theology. There had lately come to Boston a very interesting family highly connected in England and destined to play a prominent part in American history. William Hutchinson, from Alford in Lincolnshire, had built a comfortable house in Boston, on the site of the Old Corner Bookstore. Ann Hutchinson, his wife, was connected with the family of the poet Dryden. She was an excellent woman, but held some curious opinions about justification and sanctification, and the strife over these opinions soon shook the colony to its foundations. Civiludgeon grew so high that when the freemen of the New Town were assembled on their common in the apple-blossom season of 1637, to choose their magistrates for the coming year, there was some fear of a tumult until the Rev. John Wilson climbed into a gnarled and ancient oak-tree and made a sensible speech to the people. The outgoing governor, who was a candidate for re-election, was that brilliant youth, Harry Vane (Fig. 138), afterward the greatest statesman of the Puritans in England after Cromwell. This young man had been persuaded to take Mrs. Hutchinson's part. The crisis was a serious one. Just as the trainbands were about to start against the Pequots, it was suggested that the chaplain of the expedition was not under a

covenant of grace, but only under a covenant of works, and so they refused to march with such a chaplain. These mysterious distinctions were part of Mrs. Hutchinson's theology, the preaching of which was thus endangering the existence of the colony. We can therefore understand the excitement at the spring election, and perhaps we need not wonder that Winthrop was once more chosen governor instead of the noble but somewhat too youthful Vane. The election, indeed, was a Waterloo defeat for the Hutchinsonians; and it was shortly followed by a synod held in the meeting-house, which stood nearly on the site of Dane Hall. This synod condemned eighty-two of Mrs. Hutchinson's



FIG. 138.—Sir Henry Vane.

opinions as either blasphemous or ill-supported, and sentenced her to banishment from Massachusetts. In consequence thereof, Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, along with William Coddington and other friends, bought the island of Aquidneck from the Indians for forty fathoms of white wampum, and, repairing to that beautiful island, began to build the towns of Portsmouth and Newport. As for the lady's brother, Mr. Wheelwright, he moved northward with his friends, who founded the towns of Hampton and Exeter in the Piscataqua country.

One of the most acute and zealous detectors of heresy, on the occasion of Mrs. Hutchinson's trial, was Rev. Thomas Shepard, who had

lately come to the New Town with a congregation from England, which soon filled the houses left empty by the people who went to Hartford. Shepard thus succeeded to the ministry vacated by Hooker. Among the acts of the General Court during Governor Vane's short administration had been an act appropriating four hundred pounds for the establishment of a college in which young men could be educated for the ministry. One may read in the pages of George Bancroft the statement that this was the first occasion in history on which the people, through their representatives, appropriated public money for the founding of a public school; and statements to this effect have often been heard from the lips of patriotic New England orators. They are nevertheless incorrect; for before the end of the sixteenth century a system of public schools paid for from the municipal taxes had been established throughout the Netherlands, and in several of their larger cities Latin schools and higher academies were similarly supported. Indeed, the establishment of public schools was not so much a characteristic of any particular community as it was of the predominance of Calvinism. The system of Calvin attached great importance to soundness in doctrine and to the correct interpretation of Scripture, while at the same time it insisted that the Bible should be read by everybody; and in consequence of this, it was a matter of great concern with Calvinists to maintain common schools for the multitude, and also higher schools for those who were to become clergymen. We see this illustrated in the educational reforms that went on soon after the Reformation, not only in the Netherlands, but also in Scotland, as well as among the Huguenot communities in France, an advantage which France afterward lost when the Huguenots were driven out. In this same group of facts, we have the explanation of the founding of Harvard College before the colony of Massachusetts Bay was seven years old.

The affair of the Antinomians, as Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends were called, may have somewhat delayed the starting of the college. Meanwhile, the Rev. John Harvard, a young minister in Charlestown, who had been graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, bequeathed a further sum of money with his library to the college. It was therefore enacted by the General Court that the college should bear his name. The New Town was selected as a site for the college, because Mr. Shepard had shown himself endowed with such a sharp scent for heresy that it was thought the students and professors would be safer within the sound of his preaching than anywhere else. It is a curious comment upon this choice that Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard

College, was a few years later requested by the overseers to resign his position for having become infected with Baptist notions. In compliment to the mother university, of which not only Harvard, but the great majority of the clergymen in the colony, were children, it was decided to give to the New Town the name of Cambridge, by which it has since been known. The fear of attack from any English force had been to some extent outgrown, and sundry superior advantages of position led to the summoning of the General Court at Boston.

Nevertheless, about this time a brief scare was caused by news from England. Some years before this, the council of the moribund Plymouth Company had been reorganized under the name of "Council of New England." From time to time it would turn an honest penny by making grants of land for a consideration, as in the case of the Lords Saye and Brooke above mentioned. In 1635 it surrendered all



FIG. 139.—Rev. John Davenport.

its rights to the king, who forthwith proceeded to divide up New England and grant it in severalty to half a dozen noblemen. When the news of this affair reached Boston, there came also a rumor that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the arch-enemy of the Puritans, was coming to be viceroy over them. Nothing came, however, of all this; for it will be remembered that on a summer day of 1637, when a certain rash clergyman undertook to read the litany at St. Giles's church, Edinburgh, an old woman in the audience cried out, "Wad ye be sayin' mass at my lug?" and pointed the query by throwing a stool at his head. It can easily be understood that amid the waves of commotion which

forthwith spread from St. Giles all over the British Islands the affairs of little Massachusetts should have been for some years forgotten.

That summer of 1637 witnessed the arrival of another large party of Puritans from England, led by their pastor, John Davenport (Fig. 139), a man of most rigid Calvinistic orthodoxy and one of the boldest preachers of his day. These newcomers entertained such a strict and narrow conception of what a Puritan theocracy ought to be, that they were not satisfied with what they found in Boston. Too many concessions had already been made to men of worldly and democratic ways of thinking. The newcomers wished to found a true republic of saints, and so they looked about them for new quarters. These were soon found, and very comfortable too, on the shore of Long Island Sound, which had lately been brought to notice in the pursuit of the fugitive Pequots. The company soon moved to a bay called Quinnipiack, where they founded the town of New Haven, and, hard by it, Milford, Branford, Guilford, and others. After some years, the town of Southold and others at the eastern end of Long Island were added.

There is perhaps no better place than this to call attention to one characteristic feature of the settlement of New England, with some of its consequences. In the case of most settlements in an untried wilderness, we find parties of individuals or perhaps single families pressing forward and occupying the soil without any very definite social organization. The straggling fights with savages and the quarrels that arise among the settlers tend to beget a lawless state of society in which whiskey plays a more potent part than the constable, and it is liable to be some time before the softening influences of church and school are felt. Abundant illustrations are furnished in the course of American history. But the migrations by which New England was settled were mainly migrations of organized bodies; as a rule, it was the members of an English parish, organized in a congregation and led by their minister, that migrated. Out of an English parish or perhaps three or four contiguous parishes, those persons who were in sympathy with the migrating Puritan minister would follow him across the ocean. They were already accustomed to self-government, to managing the ecclesiastical, and to some extent the civil, affairs of their parish by their free votes in an open vestry. When they had arrived in New England, their open vestry became a town meeting, while in place of the old church wardens they chose selectmen for executive officers. In all this, there was no fundamental change. The free institutions of New England did not originate upon American soil, but were brought hither

from England, where they had already flourished for more than a thousand years. The New England township was simply that reversion to the old English township which was inevitable when manorial courts and the ecclesiastical rule of bishops were taken away.

Between the township and the parish, there was, in the mind of the early New Englander, very little difference. He used his meeting-house not only for divine services on Sundays and fast-days, but for purposes of political and civil meetings on any day of the week. He did not adopt new methods of organization, but simply used those old ones which he found convenient, while he dropped those which were no



FIG. 140 — The old stone house at Guilford, Conn.

longer serviceable. When, therefore, a congregation moved to a new place, there was no temporary dissolution of social bonds. What was transplanted was not a mere aggregation of individuals or families, but an organized community with its selectmen and constables, its pastor and deacons, and likewise its schoolmaster; so that the whole machinery of civil and ecclesiastical life went on working without any serious break. It is for this reason that we find the social life of New England from the earliest times as orderly and quiet as in any civilized community of long standing. There was absolutely none of the turbulence and riot which ordinarily characterize frontier communities.

The likeness between these organized migrations and that of the ancient Greek city communities is obvious. In ancient Greece, town budded from town until, on the coasts of Asia Minor, Sicily, Italy, Gaul, and Spain, were planted flourishing towns, each of which looked

back to some mother town in Hellas itself, and each of which, on the confines of barbarism, or in the presence of frowning satraps, maintained unbroken its ancient organization. On the shores of Long Island Sound, we are especially reminded of the old Greek world; for not only was each of the newly founded towns a well-organized body, but at the outset each was practically autonomous; and when all were presently united into the republic of New Haven, there were features about their union which made it seem like federation.

Thus, by a curious fortune, were planted side by side the most aristocratic and theocratic of all the New England colonies, and that which was most democratic, except perhaps the scattered settlements on Narragansett Bay. Connecticut was founded by the men who thought the Boston ideal too high for this world; New Haven, on the other hand, was founded by men who thought it too low. In New Haven, as in Massachusetts, only communing church-members were allowed to vote or hold office. As for civil magistrates, there were none. The executive offices of the republic were called the seven pillars of the church. A code of laws was regarded as quite superfluous; for were not the laws of Moses quite enough? Some of the legislation perpetrated under such influences was so grotesque that in later years it gave rise to the story of the Blue Laws, a tale which was invented during the War of Independence by an Episcopal clergyman who was a Tory refugee in London. The climax of absurdity is capped in the loose talk of the present day, when we hear people allude to the Blue Laws of *Connecticut*. One can imagine the rage and disgust with which John Davenport or Theophilus Eaton would have heard their beloved republic confounded with the "Christless" Connecticut which they despised.

We have seen how this spreading of the New England settlers consequent upon their different ideals created a dangerous situation from which they were relieved only by dealing the terrific blow which annihilated a whole Indian tribe. That situation made it desirable that among the different colonies some kind of alliance or federation should be established, so that in case of emergency the military strength of all should be speedily called out. Not only protection against the Indians was needed, but troubles might arise with the Dutch on the Hudson River, and even the remote Frenchmen in the valley of the St. Lawrence and on the Acadian peninsula might by and by approach too near for comfort.

Accordingly, in 1643, there was formed the famous New England

confederacy, the legal style of which was "The United Colonies of New England." This league was composed of the four states of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. According to the constitution of the league, each colony retained exclusive control of its own affairs, while it surrendered to the confederate government the management of all dealings with foreigners and Indians. Each of the four colonies chose two delegates, who must be communing church-members of good repute. They constituted a board of federal commissioners and were to meet once a year, but in cases of emergency they might be summoned at any time on the call of two magistrates.

This attempt at federation is worthy of careful study as the first in a series of experiments which culminated in the great federal government under which we are now living. Everything is interesting which is connected with the development of federal nationality on such a gigantic scale, and I have therefore pointed out with some particularity the circumstances which led to confederation among these little communities. In itself, too, the confederation was an interesting affair for its own time. The act of the four colonies in creating it had much the look of an act of sovereignty, yet the government in England had not been consulted in the matter. Indeed, if the worthy Maverick had wished to cite examples in proof of his assertion of New England disloyalty, he might not only have mentioned this, but also have pointed to the fact that the constitution whereby three river towns formed themselves into the state of Connecticut had made no mention whatever either of England or its Parliament or its king. Yet Maverick would have been mistaken. It was not that these men had ceased to love the mother country, which they still called home. How intensely they loved it is shown in that charming old book, "New England's Tears for Old England's Fears," published during the great civil war. But as for the king, it is fair to suppose that their loyalty was of a languid and perfumetory sort.

At the time when the confederation was formed, the population of New England had reached 26,000: all, with scarcely an exception, pure-blooded Englishmen, though I suspect a small percentage of them must have had Dutch grandparents. Of these 26,000, all but 2000 belonged to the four confederated colonies. The 2000 were comprised in the settlements on Narragansett Bay and along the coasts of New Hampshire and Maine. The men of Rhode Island and Providence wished to enter the confederacy as a member on an equal footing with the others, but this was not allowed. The policy of Williams and Codrington and the Hutchinsons had drawn to Rhode Island a good many



¶ By the King.

¶ A Proclamation to restrain the transporting of
Passengers and Provisions to New England,
without Licence.



HE Kings most Excellent MAJESTIE, for divers weighty and important causes well known to his Majesty, doth hereby straitly charge & command all Merchants, Masters and Owners of Ships whatsoever, That from henceforth they or any of them do not presume to set forth any Ship or Ships with Passengers or Provisions for New England, until they shall have first obtained special Licence from his Majesty, or such of the Lords, and others of his Privy Council, as by his Majesties special Commission now are or shall be appointed for the Business of Forrain Plantations, upon pain of his Majesties high displeasure, and such penalties and punishments as shall be thought meet to be inflicted on offenders herein for their contempt of his Majesties Royall Commands.

And his Majesty doth hereby farther require and command all the Customes and other Officers and Ministers of or belonging to all or any his Ports within the Realm of England, and Dominion of Wales, That they and every of them in their severall Offices and places do take special care of the due execution of his Majesties Royall Will and pleasure herein declared, as they will answer for the contrary at their uttermost perils.

Given at the Court at Whitehall, the first day of May, in the fourteenth year of
His Majesties Reign

God save the King.

¶ Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer
to the Kings most Excellent Majesty: And by
the Assignes of John Bill. 1638.

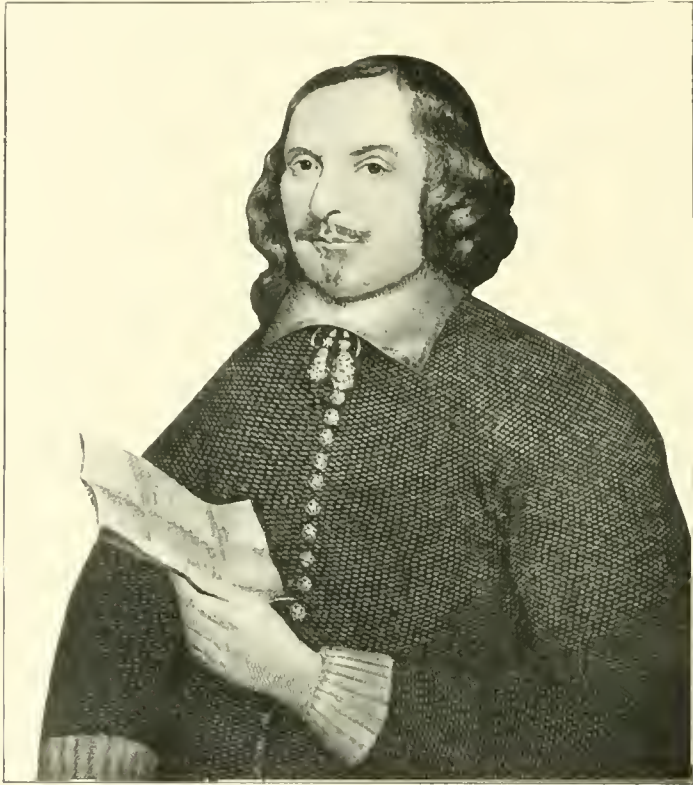
FIG. 111. Attempt of Charles I. to limit the exodus.

persons upon whom all the other colonies frowned as heretics. Many of these were classed as Anabaptists, and afterward made the beginning of the Baptist church in America. But in those days there was perhaps no epithet which aroused such horror in the orthodox Puritan mind as

Anabaptist. The good people on the shores of Narragansett Bay were thus unpopular with their neighbors, and sometimes had cause for apprehension lest Massachusetts, as the most powerful and arrogant of these, should lay violent hands upon her and force her to submit to the rule of the saints in Boston. Under these circumstances, the skill displayed by Williams, as well as by Dr. John Clarke and others, in building these settlements into a sturdy state, is worthy of the highest praise.

A principal source of instability in the confederation was the undue predominance of Massachusetts. Of the 24,000 persons who lived under the confederation, Massachusetts had 15,000, while the other three members of the league had each but 3000. It would have been well if this difference had been recognized in the constitution of the league, but perfect wisdom is never reached without unsuccessful experiments. The great difficulty was that Massachusetts had to contribute more men and money than the other three members put together, while the constitution allowed her no more voice in ruling the confederated forces than any one of the others. Thus, unable to assert her superiority by legal means, she was tempted to assert it in irregular ways. For example, the colony of Connecticut bought the Saybrook fort at the mouth of the river, and charged itself with its maintenance. In order to defray this expense, a toll was collected at the fort upon all merchandise carried in vessels up or down the river. The men of Springfield refused to pay this toll, on the ground that they were not a part of Connecticut and therefore had no hand in enacting the law under which the toll was collected. When the dispute was referred to the eight federal commissioners, among whom Massachusetts was in a decided minority, the decision was in favor of Connecticut; and this was surely just, according to all the usages of civilized states. But the General Court of Massachusetts was not satisfied, and they proposed to rectify a manifest defect in the constitution by insisting that their colony should have at least three commissioners. Then they proceeded to more dangerous ground by suggesting that, if either of the four colonies should choose to disregard any decision of the commissioners, this should not be considered a breach of the constitution, and that no power should be used to sustain the federal decree. Here we have Calhoun's doctrine of nullification full-blown in the New England of the seventeenth century. Like South Carolina in more recent days, Massachusetts then actually maintained that liberty to disobey the command of a sovereign body was not fatal to that body's sovereignty. Armed with such controversial weapons, Massachusetts requested the commissioners to alter their

decision; but they refused. Massachusetts then ventured upon retaliation, and imposed a duty upon all merchandise imported into their colony from any of the other three. Then the board of commissioners addressed a courteous rebuke to the magistrates at Boston, asking them if really now such a course of action was compatible with the law of



Edw: Winslow.

FIG. 112.—Edward Winslow.

love which had led them to enter into a league. This grave appeal evidently touched the conscience of Massachusetts, for next year the duty was repealed, and we do not hear that the people at Springfield refused any more to pay their tolls.

In spite of all these drawbacks resulting from the unequal yoking

of the four colleagues, the New England confederation furnished extremely valuable lessons to the people; and in its later days, after it had been in many ways weakened, it still did goodly service in concentrating the military strength of the colonies. We have seen that one of the weak points in the relations of Massachusetts to her confederates consisted in her tendency to claim too much authority. When we come to her relations with the Narragansett settlements, we find this tendency showing itself in many disagreeable ways. The attitude of Massachusetts toward Rhode Island was too apt to be one of aggression; and if the memories of this fact are still attended with bitter feelings on the part of Rhode Islanders, one can scarcely wonder. Among the various cases in point, the two most worthy of mention are those of Samuel Gorton and John Clarke, to each of which a few words must be devoted.

The existence of what are sometimes called "queer" sects is often alluded to as if it were a peculiarity of the seventeenth century. It is true that such small sects then existed in bewildering numbers; but it should not be forgotten that ever since the primitive ages of the Christian Church there has been a tendency for such aberrant opinions to spring up, and any student of ecclesiastic history will come across scores upon scores of them in the course of the Middle Ages. Perhaps the Lutheran reformation may have somewhat helped the centrifugal tendencies. At all events, it was during Luther's lifetime that the Anabaptists of Germany were guilty of such mingled absurdities and horrors as those which have given an unsavory fame to John of Leyden and the fanatics of Münster. For more than a century afterward, the memory of such excesses seems to have made every extreme Protestant sect nervously afraid of all such people as went a little further than itself along the Protestant road. Everyone who was conscious of differing from the greater religious establishments was morbidly sensitive to the imputation that he might either encourage or tolerate the smaller and still more independent sects. There was nothing which the Puritan of Massachusetts so wrathfully resented as the insinuation that his commonwealth was sure to become a cage of unclean birds, or, as others expressed it, a colluvies of unsound doctrines and Christless vagaries. The sarcastic Nathaniel Ward, in his strong and racy book, "*The Simple Cobbler of Agawam*," is especially severe on this point. The people of Massachusetts, he says, do not deserve such a reproach, for they are as careful to expel from their borders all adherents to false doctrines as either Romanists or Episcopalians could be. They must

not be accused of tolerating differences of opinion ; indeed, they scorn an insinuation so base. As for universal toleration, it is not far removed from downright blasphemy ; and if you wish to see the effect of it, look at the wretched people that live on Narragansett Bay, where you may find as many religious opinions as different kinds of weeds by the wayside ; and up to this day, when the Simple Cobbler writes, they



Ric. Saltonstall

FIG. 143.—Sir Richard Saltonstall.

have never yet been able to establish any respectable scheme of government, but every Rhode Island man does that which is right in his own eyes. In such remarks, there can be no doubt that Ward simply gave voice to the general sentiment of the Massachusetts clergy ; and we see how absurd is the common charge of inconsistency which is

often brought against them. We hear it said that the founders of Massachusetts crossed the ocean to escape from persecution, and then became persecutors themselves. This objection quite misses the historic point of view, namely, that they never for a moment claimed that there was anything wrong in persecution; on the contrary, as John Cotton neatly said, while it was wrong for error to persecute truth, it was the solemn duty of truth to persecute error. The founders of Massachusetts were grievously illiberal, but their actions were entirely consistent with their profession.

When we speak of small and queer sects, our expression is almost tautological; for in general, a small sect is considered queer until it has grown large enough to be counted as fashionable. In Elizabeth's England, while the Episcopalians were in the height of fashion, while Catholics were but slightly out of date, and Puritanism was coming into vogue, the little group of Separatists formed a queer sect. In Endicott's Massachusetts, where Separatism had become the ruling fashion, the little sects which the generous policy of Roger Williams tolerated were regarded as queer, and the kindest of critics probably regarded them with a mixture of aversion and pity. Among these queer sects, there were sundry points of family likeness. All had some features derived from the Quietists and Mystics of the Middle Ages; and amid heaps of transcendental jargon quite surpassing modern comprehension, one comes here and there upon genuine jewels of enlightened common sense. This we see exemplified in the writings of Samuel Gorton. This man, albeit of gentle blood, had in London followed the trade of a clothier. Without any college education, he was nevertheless sufficiently familiar with Hebrew and Greek to read the Bible in those tongues. His notions were, in the main, those of the little sect then known as Familists, and he had some points in common with Quakers. For example, he held that laymen were as well qualified to teach religion as clergymen, he cared little for ceremony and ritual, he was inclined to put figurative and spiritual interpretations upon texts of Scripture which others translated literally, and he insisted to an unusual extent upon the effects wrought by the Holy Ghost upon individual souls. In these views he seems to have come very near the Quaker doctrine of the inner light or private inspiration, although he declared that he did not accept that doctrine, at least as Quakers generally held it.

The earlier part of Gorton's career in New England was stormy. He lived first in Plymouth, where the people were much less illiberal than in either of the other three confederated colonies; nevertheless, their

notions were theocratic, and they were very jealous of hearing the laws of England quoted against them. When the magistrates arraigned a member of his household for laughing in church, and when Gorton reminded them that the common law afforded them no basis on which to proceed, they retorted with the unanswerable argument that he might leave the colony as soon as he could pack up his worldly goods. Probably there was something more in this severity than mere spleen at Gorton's argument, for we are told that he quite lost his temper, shook his fist at the magistrates, and said that he did not call them "justices," but "just asses."

Thus compelled to abandon Plymouth, whither should Gorton flee? Naturally enough, to the island of Aquidneck, which the Hutchinsons and their friends had just bought from the Indians. Into the complicated story of his troubles, while he tarried in one Narragansett settlement after another, we have not space to enter. Suffice it to say, that wherever he went, even in that ultra-liberal part of the world, he straightway got into the hottest kind of hot water. Amid all his vagaries, we may here note two points upon which his mind was thoroughly sound: He insisted that the common law of England, under which the people had grown up, was the proper basis on which their society should be organized in the New World, rather than upon fanciful interpretations of the remote and ancient laws of Moses. He seems to have discerned that the latter method was sure to put too much power into the hands of the clergy and might result in the formation of a priestly class. He also felt the danger of a too reckless policy in building up political structures unrecognized by the English government and liable to be regarded as unfriendly to it; and he insisted, with wise conservatism, that the safest basis for American liberties was to be supplied by written charters, in which their rights and privileges should be distinctly asserted in black and white. We may observe that Roger Williams himself, though he regarded Gorton with disapproval, nevertheless soon came to his way of thinking with regard to charters, and in 1643 he went over to England and began the series of applications for a charter which at last, after nearly twenty years, resulted in the efficient union of the Narragansett settlements under a single chartered government.

So great was the commotion stirred up by Gorton on the mainland, that we find certain leading citizens of Providence actually calling for aid from Boston to suppress this agitator; but the government at Boston would do nothing unless jurisdiction over the land occupied by Gorton and his followers should be conceded to Massachusetts. This was reluctantly

granted by the men of Providence, with the immediate result that the Gortonites migrated to "fresh woods and pastures new" on a prominence called Shawomet, on the western shore of the bay. Here, as in the case of nearly all English settlers in America, they purchased the land from the natives. The circumstances of this purchase were such as to bring about a dispute between Miantonomo, principal war-chief of the Narragansetts, and two subordinate chiefs. This dispute presently developed into a quarrel between Miantonomo and Uncas, principal



FIG. 144.—Oliver Cromwell.

war-chief of the Mohegans. A bloody battle was fought within the limits of the present town of Norwich, in which the Narragansett chief was totally defeated and taken prisoner. Gorton, who was Miantonomo's ally, threatened vengeance upon Uncas if he should venture to maltreat his captive. This threat led Uncas to seek advice from his English allies at Hartford, and so the matter was referred to the regular meeting of the federal commissioners at Boston. The matter was there discussed with the evident aim of coming to such a decision as should

seem most likely to prevent an outbreak of war between Indians and whites. The outcome of the decision was practically that the alliance with Uncas was worth retaining, even at the risk of Narragansett hostility; and accordingly, Miantonomo was handed over to his captor with full permission to put him to death, only it must be done without torture. As was expected, the Narragansetts were furious at the death of their chief; but when they learned that the federal commissioners had a force of 300 men in readiness, they became despondent and sent wampumbelts to Boston, soliciting the forbearance and patronage of the dreaded white men.

Having thus disposed of Gorton's Indian allies, the federal commissioners sent an armed force against Shawomet. Gorton and all his people were conveyed to Boston, where they were thrown into prison. After a while, they received a rather curious sentence for culprits who had been forcibly brought into Massachusetts against their own will: they were banished under penalty of death in case any of them should return there, which it is not likely that any of them were anxious to do.

But Gorton had no mind to submit to the federal commissioners. This New England confederacy had never received any sanction from England; why should Samuel Gorton, a freeborn Englishman, submit to its decrees? It was in the height of the civil war, and Parliament had so far encroached upon the king's prerogatives as to appoint a board of commissioners for the American colonies. To this board the sturdy Gorton made his appeal. At its head was the Earl of Warwick, who presently rendered a decision in favor of Gorton's title to Shawomet, and sent him back to Boston with a written order that he should be allowed to pass in safety through Massachusetts on the way to his own domain. On Gorton's arrival in Boston, this order was discussed before the General Court, which was in strong sympathy with Parliament in its war against the king; yet it was only by a bare majority that it was voted to obey the order and let the great agitator pass unmolested to his new home. So Gorton was at length allowed to found a community after his own heart at Shawomet, and to the town thus founded he gave the name of Warwick, in grateful recognition of the earl to whom he owed so much. At this point in his career, Gorton's troubles seemed to have ended. He had at length found his niche, where his neighbors ceased to molest him and in which he rested content. After the smoke of battle had been cleared away, his solid merits were recognized and he was repeatedly elected to the Rhode Island Council of Assistants and other positions of trust.

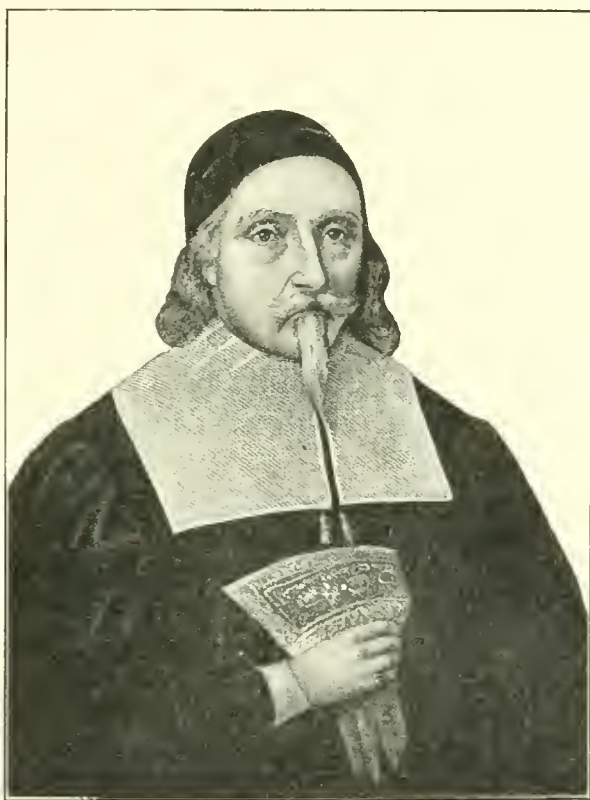
The case of Gorton was no doubt more or less complicated with considerations of public policy, as regarded the Indians on the one hand and the home government on the other. The case of Dr. Clarke had no such complications. It was an instance of bigotry pure and simple. This Dr. Clarke, a native of Suffolk, was an excellent physician and accomplished scholar. As so many learned clergymen in early New England studied and practised medicine as well as divinity, so the worthy Dr. Clarke added to his practice of medicine the functions of teacher in the Baptist church which was founded at Newport in 1639. Five years after that time, an act was passed in Massachusetts banishing all Baptists from that colony. In spite of this act, a certain aged Baptist named William Witter was living at Swampscot in the summer of 1651, and, as the state of his health did not allow of his travelling, he sent a message to Newport requesting a visit from some members of the church there, who might administer to him spiritual consolation. This request led to the visit of three Baptists to Swampscot in the course of that summer. One was John Crandall, a representative in the Assembly of Rhode Island; another was Rev. Obadiah Holmes, who had lately been rebuked in Plymouth for Baptist teachings; and the third was Dr. Clarke. They arrived at Witter's house on a Saturday evening, and the next morning were holding a quiet service by themselves in the parlor, when two constables came in with a warrant for their arrest. The three visitors were carried off to Lynn, where in the afternoon they were compelled to attend divine service in the village meeting-house. Next day they were remanded to the jail in Boston for trial, and were sentenced to pay heavy fines, or, in default of such payment, to be publicly whipped. These fines were equivalent in our modern money to \$125 for Crandall, \$500 for Clarke, and \$750 for Holmes. Crandall, as a person of comparatively small consequence, had a light fine; while Holmes, as a citizen of one of the confederated colonies, who had been let off with too mild a punishment at Plymouth, must now be made to feel the rod. It was in vain that Clarke challenged the ministers of Boston and its neighborhood to a discussion of the whole subject on its merits. He was known to be a man of great learning and formidable in debate, and his challenge was met with so much shuffling and subterfuge that it is fair to suppose that these clergymen had no stomach for such an encounter of wits. The reader must here keep steadily in mind the fact too often forgotten, that there were many people in Massachusetts, and especially in Boston, who did not approve of the proceedings of their rulers. The number of inhabitants who were not allowed

the franchise was rapidly increasing, and among the deputies the number who condemned the proceedings of the more aristocratic and illiberal council was also increasing. Indeed, the popular opposition to the theocracy was fast becoming formidable. There were therefore plenty of people who admired the Baptist visitors and felt ashamed of the treatment they were receiving. Such friends paid the fines of Crandall and Clarke without their knowledge, so that they were forthwith released and sent about their business. An attempt was also made to pay Holmes's heavy fine, but he learned what was going on and begged his friendly advocates to desist from all interference in his case. To pay the fine would look too much like a confession that it was deserved, and his friends, appreciating this point, yielded to his entreaties and left him to himself; consequently he was taken to the public whipping-post, where he received thirty lashes well laid on with a three-corded whip, by which he was so badly cut that for some days and nights he could take no rest save by lying on his knees and elbows. This outrage called forth indignant and spicy rebuke from several quarters alike in New England and in the old country.

This savage treatment of the Baptist visitors reminds us that new powers had come to the front in Massachusetts. Such scenes would hardly have been tolerated under such a governor as Winthrop; but Winthrop's death in 1649 brought Endicott (Fig. 145) decisively to the front, and it was the bigoted and fiery Endicott who presided over the trial of Clarke and his friends. In the following year, 1652, the death of Cotton removed a wholesome check upon the fanaticism of John Wilson. That fanaticism was now reinforced by the new teacher in the Boston church who succeeded to Cotton. This man, John Norton, was a good scholar endowed with pithy and sarcastic wit, but was narrow and superstitious withal, and cut out by nature for a persecutor. It was unfortunate for the good name of Massachusetts that her actions should have been controlled by such men as Endicott and Norton at a time when the popular sentiment was growing more and more hostile to the theocracy.

This hostility was distinctly manifested in the course of the proceedings which greeted the arrival of Quakers in Boston in 1656 and the following years. Among all the new sectarians, there were none whom the rulers in New England so greatly dreaded as the Quakers. This is quite intelligible if we remember that the Quakers laid claim to the possession of an inner light, the teachings of which were supposed by their antagonists to go contrary to the true meaning of Script-

ure. Indeed, in their interpretation of the sacred texts, the Quakers often showed a rationalism that was quite distasteful to the Puritans, and led to the slander, repeated by Cotton Mather and others, that they were infidels who rejected the Bible as a rule of life. Besides this, the Quakers insisted upon the entire separation of church from state, and they were eminently disposed to tolerate differences of opin-



Jo. Endicott

FIG. 145.—John Endicott.

ion, inasmuch as they set a far higher value upon the spirit than the letter, and esteemed doctrinal soundness of small importance compared with soundness in living. Now the Puritans, as we have seen, aimed at a theocratic community of persons united by identity in belief. To admit into such a community such persons as Antinomians or Baptists

might be dangerous ; but to admit into it Quakers would be fatal, inasmuch as they not only failed to conform to the Puritan ideal, but actively worked for its destruction. We shall not understand the story of the Quakers in New England unless we remember that they were not satisfied with mere toleration. In Rhode Island, they were well received and treated like other people ; but they were not contented to remain there. They insisted upon coming into colonies where they were not wanted ; and this was precisely because they condemned the narrow ecclesiastic system of those colonies and intended to break it down.

It was not strange, therefore, that when Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived in Boston in 1656, they should have met with a cold welcome. They were thrown into jail, where they were kept five weeks, scantily fed and rudely insulted, until the ship which had brought them was ready to sail ; and then they were taken on board, at which conclusion the soul of Endicott must have felt comforted.

But this was not the conclusion ; for other Quakers kept coming, until in each of the four confederated colonies laws were passed prohibiting Quakers from coming within their boundaries under penalties of various stringency. Among these enactments, those of Connecticut, where the younger John Winthrop was now all-powerful, were the most lenient ; while those of Massachusetts were the most severe. In 1658, the question as to imposing the penalty of death upon all visiting Quakers came up in the Massachusetts Assembly. On this question, the opposition between theocrats and democrats asserted itself with emphasis. The bill proposing the death penalty was passed by the council, but defeated in the House of Deputies. Presently one of the deputies fell sick, and two others were coaxed or threatened into changing their vote, so that at last the bill was carried by a majority of one. Of course it was hoped that such a law would deter Quakers from coming, so that it would not be necessary to put it into operation. Such has been the hope of persecutors in all ages. The English Parliament of 1401, which enacted a statute for burning heretics, unquestionably hoped that the threat would prove sufficient so that it would not be necessary to enforce the law. Probably many of the clergymen who fastened the Inquisition upon Spain entertained a similar rose-colored view. The persecutor is sure to forget that the heretic is probably a man of as stern determination as himself, or sterner. In the year 1659, three Quakers were condemned to death ; one of them was a lady of the highest social position, Mrs. Mary Dyer, wife of William Dyer, who was then secretary of Rhode Island and some years later

Collector of the Port of New York. She had persisted in coming to Boston, despite the entreaties of her husband and son. She was led to the gallows on Boston Common, along with Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson. The popular feeling in Boston was one of strong indignation against the governor and his council. The actual enforcement of the infamous law put a greater strain upon people than they had expected to be called upon to bear. There were so many symptoms of mutiny that Endicott dreaded an attempt at rescue, and the condemned persons were conducted to the place of execution by a strong military escort. A deafening noise was made with drums, lest the victims should succeed in addressing the people. In such wise the two men were hanged, and their bodies were buried without ceremony in a ditch that had been dug on the Common to receive them. Mrs. Dyer, however, was set free on condition that she would allow her son to take her home to Rhode Island. This was done, but the inner light urged Mrs. Dyer onward with a power which she was unable to resist. Within a year, she returned to Boston and met the fate which had been prepared for her the year before. It was not long after her execution that the fourth victim, William Leddra, arrived in Boston. He was not so promptly disposed of as the others, for the opposition was daily gaining in strength; but after four months he too suffered death. Leddra was the last victim. It was shortly before his death that the court-room one day witnessed one of the most memorable scenes in the history of New England—a scene which almost more than any other lights up for us the purposes and motives of the time. Everyone will remember how Wenlock Christison came into the court-room, and, like an ancient prophet, addressed the magistrates in tones of command, enjoining upon them that they should stop shedding innocent blood. This bold Quaker was at once seized and sent to jail. More than three months elapsed before the question of his doom was decided. The council were loth to pronounce sentence of death. Then it was that the fiery fanatic, Endicott, felt that all that he had done and endured in bringing colonists from England and helping to found a godly community in America had been labor lost. If the law was not to be enforced upon this man, Endicott declared that the time had come when his occupation in Massachusetts was gone and he might as well return to England. This menace to the council was passionately uttered; but it was not a mere utterance of passion, for Endicott correctly saw in the coming of these Quakers the destruction of the ideal for which he had labored. The end of the matter was such as history

has often witnessed. The death sentence was passed upon Christison, but was never executed. Presently the law imposing the death penalty was repealed, and although Quakers were afterward occasionally whipped or imprisoned and otherwise maltreated, yet the fact could not be concealed that there had been a great contest in which victory was theirs. After 1661, it became impossible any longer to maintain that the Puritan commonwealth was to be a united body of believers from which all dissent should be excluded. Williams and Coddington, Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson, to say nothing of the men who founded Connecticut, had gone elsewhere and done as they listed, leaving Massachusetts free from schism. But the Quakers had brought



FIG. 146.—Charles II.

schism into the midst of that sacred precinct, and there it was forever to abide. The principles of Roger Williams had proved stronger than those of Endicott and Norton.

It is sometimes said that it was the interference of the new king, Charles II. (Fig. 146), that brought about the Quaker triumph at Boston. But from all that we know of the attitude of Massachusetts toward that king during the whole of his reign, it is pretty clear that very little heed would have been paid to his missive if Endicott's policy had been popular among the people whom he governed. It was not the order of a king beyond the sea, but the dread of insurrection at their very doors, that intimidated Endicott's councillors on the day when he so fiercely

upbraided them. Church members in Massachusetts were already in a decided minority, while worldly-minded men who cared more for commerce than theology were steadily increasing in numbers, and day by day the theocracy was losing its hold.

Nevertheless, that lion-hearted theocracy which had already done so much good work in bringing Christian civilization into New England at a time when it could not otherwise have been brought there was still to do further good work in spite of all its shortcomings. Nothing in American history is more memorable than the struggle waged between the New England theocracy and the unscrupulous king whose aim was to impose a tyranny upon England. Down to this time, the New England colonies had been scarcely at all interfered with by the government in England. We have seen how Charles I. had too much upon his hands to meddle with them; and as for Oliver, he was their friend and had no mind to molest them. Thus, in the course of a generation, the men of New England had enjoyed the blessings of self-government to a greater extent, perhaps, than ever before. But now, under a new king, their experience began to be different.

The colony which first and most strongly aroused the king's resentment was New Haven, where the theocracy was most extreme. At this crisis, the conduct of New Haven was more reckless and overweening than that of any of her neighbors. Two of the regicide judges who had condemned Charles I. escaped to Massachusetts in 1660, and were entertained for a while at Cambridge. They were among the most eminent gentlemen of the Commonwealth. Edward Whalley was a cousin of the mighty Oliver and a lieutenant-general in his army. William Goffe, a major-general in that army, was Whalley's son-in-law. It was soon known in England that these gentlemen had escaped to America, and an order for their arrest was sent to Boston. It was then decided that they would be safest in the republic of New Haven, and thither they made their way. For more than two years, emissaries of the king searched for them in the villages and among the woodland paths of that colony, but in vain. Enough was known to make it plain that the fugitives were aided by the people; and so effective was this secret aid that the pursuers at length retired from the scene, baffled and chagrined.

Such disloyal conduct on the part of Parson Davenport and his people could not pass unnoticed by Charles II. The extinction of the republic of New Haven was decreed. The younger Winthrop (Fig. 147) was at that time in London and showed much adroitness in winning the

king's favor. His purpose was to obtain a royal charter for Connecticut, and he persevered until he had obtained such a document, in which Connecticut was defined as extending westward to the Pacific Ocean. Connecticut not only thus constructively ignored the existence of New Netherland, but she absorbed into herself the republic of New Haven. For two centuries from that time, a memento of the original state of things was preserved in the fact that the state of Connecticut had two capitals, the cities of Hartford and New Haven, in which the legislature



John Winthrop

FIG. 147.—John Winthrop, the younger. (From an engraving by J. G. Kellogg.)

sat alternately. This coalescence was pleasing to the people of Connecticut, but by those of New Haven different views were entertained. The theocracy had come to be a small minority, ruling somewhat arbitrarily over the majority of the people; so that naturally this majority was glad to have the restrictions upon the suffrage swept away. On the other hand, the theocratic minority were greatly disgusted. Parson Davenport accepted a call to Boston; John Wilson had just died, and Davenport was chosen to succeed him as pastor of the First church at Boston. A large portion of Davenport's people went in the other direction. Some of the first white settlements were now being made in New Jersey. Thither went the malcontents from the shore of Long Island Sound, led by Rev. Abraham Pierson, and bought from the Indians a



Austin House, 1657; the oldest house now standing in Cambridge,
Massachusetts.

From a photograph.

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tract of land upon which they proceeded to build the earliest houses of the city of Newark. This was accomplished in 1667.

The removal of Davenport to Boston had some interesting consequences. The restriction of the franchise was coming to be widely recognized as a political evil, and various means were suggested of overcoming it. One of these methods was known as the "Halfway Covenant." It was held that all baptised persons whose character for integrity and decorum was beyond all question ought to be regarded for political purposes as church members, even though they were not qualified for participation in the Lord's Supper. Such persons might be regarded as under a halfway covenant with the church. Such a measure would, of course, have greatly extended the franchise. In 1657, the principle of the halfway covenant was approved in a council held at Boston, but it was opposed with intense bitterness by many of the clergy. In the First church, opinion was about equally divided on this question, but a small majority succeeded in choosing Davenport for their pastor. Then the dissatisfied minority presently seceded, and in 1669 they founded a new society known as the Third church of Boston. From its geographical position it was usually called the South church, and in later years, when another church was established still further to the south, it came to be known as the Old South church. The wooden building erected in 1669 was taken down in 1729, and there was built upon the same spot the edifice which now stands there, a noble specimen of the quiet but dignified architecture of which Sir Christopher Wren was the most admired master. It is to-day, with the possible exception of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, a building richer in historical associations with momentous events than any other in the western hemisphere.

To return to the accession of Charles II. One of his earliest acts was to appoint a royal commission for investigating the affairs of New England. This appointment had a twofold meaning. It meant that the colonies were growing in importance, and it also meant that the king intended to devote some attention to them. The four commissioners were Colonel Richard Nicolls, Colonel George Cartwright, Sir Robert Carr, and our old friend Samuel Maverick. Nicolls was a broad-minded and cultivated gentleman with much nobility of character and rare sweetness of temper. Maverick, as we have seen, with all his prejudices, was an honorable gentleman. Carr was a self-seeking politician, and Cartwright a mere cipher. In the summer of 1664, four stately frigates carrying 500 soldiers sailed into Boston harbor, bringing these royal commissioners. It was the first time that any English military

force distinct from that of the colonies themselves had appeared in New England waters. Their arrival in Boston was not a cause of rejoicing, but they were treated with all due politeness. A part of their business and that which could least afford to wait was the military task of taking New Netherland from the Dutch. This part of the story will receive attention in a future chapter. As for Massachusetts, the commissioners were especially instructed to require that all magistrates must take an oath of allegiance to the crown, that justice must be administered in the king's name, that the restriction of suffrage to church members must be abolished, and that the Episcopal form of worship must be allowed. To these demands, the Boston magistrates and parsons readily consented that justice should be administered in the king's name; concerning the oath of allegiance, they were somewhat less forward; but as for the suffrage and the toleration of Episcopacy, they were prone to enter upon long-winded explanations which had one feature in common—that they always left the situation darker than they found it and quite mystified the king's officers as to what was really intended. Indeed, when it came to coping with such subtle dialecticians, such wily diplomatists as these squires and parsons, it was soon evident that the honest soldier Nicolls and his worldly colleagues were simply nowhere. Soon they pined for a clearer atmosphere. Nicolls had been made governor of New York and could not stay in Boston; Maverick presently followed him and lived thenceforth in a house on Broadway; while Carr and Cartwright returned to England. As for King Charles, he knew as much about the designs of Massachusetts as he did before. Home affairs and warfare with the Dutch monopolized his attention for some years to come.

Meanwhile, a frightful storm burst over New England. From 1637 to 1675, the settlements were entirely unmolested by red men. The annihilation of the Pequots had taught a lesson; otherwise perhaps the death of Miantonomo would have been immediately followed by a rising of Narragansetts. As it was, that tribe certainly nourished a deadly hatred against the English allies of their Mohegan enemies. Here we may observe that the position of the settlers of New England was such that it was impossible for them to keep outside the sphere of Indian feuds. We shall hereafter have occasion to praise the conduct of William Penn and his colonists in their dealings with Indians; but even that great Quaker, had he been placed among the New England tribes, could hardly have kept clear from awkward complications. In the deadly feud between Mohegans and Narragansetts, the English

could not treat the one with common civility without offending the other. Moreover, through the need of preventing wars between tribes, a kind of English protectorate over the red men insensibly and gradually grew up; and this the Indians could not fail to resent.

Even the attempts of the Puritans at converting the red men to Christianity were sure to be misunderstood and resented. This missionary work was begun in 1643, when Thomas Mayhew succeeded in convincing the Indians of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard that the white man's Deity was more powerful and better worthy of reverence than all the tutelär spirits which watched over their tribe. Three years later began the preaching of John Eliot (Fig. 148), commonly known as



FIG. 148.—John Eliot. (From an engraving by J. C. Butte.)

the Apostle. The patient industry of this remarkable man is attested by his translation of the entire Bible into Algonquin. Eliot's preaching was crowned with considerable success, in so much that by 1675 it was estimated that there were 4000 Christian Indians in New England. About 1500 of these dwelt in stockaded villages built under English guidance at Grafton, Concord, and Natick; some 1500 more were in Martha's Vineyard, 700 in the Plymouth colony, and 300 in Nantucket. Now, from the Indian point of view, this conversion to Christianity meant subjection to the Deity of the white men, and therefore a recognition of the white men as masters. To the barbarian mind, it was impossible for it to mean anything else. This is illustrated by what

happened in 1657, when the Apostle preached to some Indians near Hartford and begged them to accept Jesus Christ as their Saviour. To this the scornful answer was, "Indeed, we will not; we have given up much of our land, but we are not going to bargain away our personal liberty and become the servants of the white men." When we consider all that such declarations imply, we shall probably not be far wrong in assigning Eliot's preaching as one of the important causes of the great Indian war.

Another cause, as already hinted, was the English protectorate over the native tribes. This was especially galling to the Wampanoags, who from their proximity to Plymouth were frequently annoyed with the white men's interference. When Massasoit died in 1660, he left two sons, Wamsutta and Metacom, whom the English half-jocosely called Alexander and Philip. Sundry complaints brought against Alexander led to his being summoned before the General Court of Plymouth. There he was acquitted of the charges against him, but on his way home he suddenly died, an event which Philip seems to have attributed to poison or some witchcraft on the part of the English. The death of Alexander left Philip at the head of the Wampanoags as their principal war-chief. More than once in the next few years his mood was recognized as unfriendly, and various pledges were exacted from him; or, as we might say, he was virtually bound over to keep the peace.

Thus we seem to find three conspicuous causes of the Indian war: 1, the desire of the Narragansetts to avenge the death of Miantonomo; 2, the wrath of the Indians generally at Eliot's success in luring away their warriors; and 3, the indignation of Philip over his brother's death and the repeated meddling of Plymouth with his affairs. Whether there was any deliberate league among the Indian tribes for the total destruction of the white men is very uncertain. We have not the data which might answer such a question decisively. In point of fact, Miantonomo's son Canonchet, war-chief of the Narragansetts, did not actively show his hand until six months after the war began; and this might seem to imply that the entrance of successive tribes upon the scene was contagious rather than a result of long previous deliberation. On the other hand, we know that concerted action among different groups of red men was always difficult to secure, and even where we have strongest proofs of elaborate preparation their best-laid plots were apt to be ruined by fitful and desultory action.

Among the Indian tribes of New England, the Mohegans remained true to their alliance with the English, and this fact kept the war out-

side the bounds of Connecticut. Of the three tribes engaged in it, the Wampanoags, Nipmucks, and Narragansetts, all were completely exterminated. Of these, the Narragansetts were the most powerful, and the part actually played by Canonicet seems to have been more important than that played by Philip. But in the beginning it was a Wampanoag's war, and it was natural that it should receive its name from the Wampanoag chief.

The war began with the assassination of Sausamon, a converted Indian in Philip's employ, who went to Plymouth and warned the magistrates there that mischief was brewing. On his way back to Philip's quarters at Mount Hope, Sausamon was murdered. For this crime, three Wampanoags were put on trial at Plymouth, found guilty, and hanged. Shortly afterward the village of Swanzy in the western part of the colony was burned by Philip's men, and the inhabitants massacred with shocking atrocities. Soon the villages of Dartmouth, Middleboro, and Taunton suffered the same dreadful fate, and within a few weeks a large force of Nipmucks attacked the town of Mendon in Massachusetts. The co-operation between Nipmucks and Wampanoags was prompt enough. The mountain tribe appointed a parley with Captain Edward Hutchinson, son of the famous Antinomian lady; and when he came to the appointed place, they murdered him, with all his party. By this time Philip had been driven from his own quarters, and, coming into the Nipmuck country, a concerted attack was made upon Brookfield. Despite obstinate resistance, the little town would have succumbed had it not been relieved by the gallant veteran, Major Simon Willard, who galloped thirty miles at the head of a small cavalry force and routed the barbarians with heavy slaughter. After this affair, the Connecticut valley became the principal seat of war. Northfield and Deerfield were abandoned, savage attacks were made upon Springfield and Hadley, and on the 11th of September came the saddest blow of all, when Captain Thomas Lothrop, with his company of ninety picked men, known as the Flower of Essex, were caught in an ambuscade and slaughtered by 700 Nipmucks.

This calamity was soon followed by the news that the Narragansetts were harboring fugitive Wampanoags and had given other signs which boded ill for the English. Evidence since obtained makes it clear that these reports were correct. The federal commissioners, who were in session at Boston, were not slow in acting upon them. Extraordinary efforts were put forth; a force of 1000 men was raised and put under the command of a sagacious and valiant leader, Josiah Winslow (Fig. 149).

governor of Plymouth. In December, this little army marched into the Narragansett country. The campaign which followed is perhaps one of the best remembered in American history. What child has not heard of the great Narragansett "Swamp fight"? It well deserves its reputation. Nothing that happened in that century enables one more vividly to realize the hardy stuff of which these men—true brothers of Cromwell's Ironsides—were made. What a wonderful day's work was that of the "crowning mercy" of Sunday, December 19, 1675! The little army had slept the previous night in an open field, under a thin blanket



Josiah Winslow

FIG. 149.—Josiah Winslow.

of lightly falling snow. At five in the morning, they began their march of fourteen miles over rugged hills and through deep drifts until they came in sight of the palisaded stronghold situated in the midst of a treacherous bog, which was only made passable by the freezing of its surface. The only bridge to the fort was a huge tree-trunk, slippery with frost and well guarded by loopholes alive with muskets; for these men of the stone age had now become expert with fire-arms. There were 2000 of them within the stronghold, stalwart and sturdy warriors

nerved with desperation. It makes one thrill to-day as one reads how, in repeated charges and in spite of heavy slaughter, the men of Massachusetts and Plymouth fought their way across the slippery trunk, while the men of Connecticut, crossing the bog in the rear, ascended a steep bank and made a breach in the walls. These attacks were superbly conducted by the three majors, whose names deserve commemoration—Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, the younger William Bradford of Plymouth, and Robert Treat of Connecticut. Within the fortress the fight went on until probably the number of Indians slain exceeded that of all the white men engaged. By sunset Canonechet, with such followers as could get away, had escaped. Their fortress, with its stores, was consumed by fire, and the victors entered upon another march of a dozen or fifteen miles in the midst of a blinding snowstorm until two hours after midnight they reached their appointed place of shelter, leaving one-fourth of their number dead and frozen behind them. It was a terrible piece of work, but necessary, and was very thoroughly done.

Six months of desultory warfare were still to be endured. Into these six months came the savage attacks upon Lancaster, Medfield, Worcester, Marlboro, Groton, Sudbury, Chelmsford, Springfield, Bridgewater, Providence, and many other places, and the tremendous slaughter of Nipmucks at Turner's Falls, named from the sturdy captain on that grim occasion.

While these things were going on, Philip was absent in the Berkshire mountains, where he had collected a large force of warriors. It seems to have been his purpose to bring the Mohegans of the upper Housatonic valley into the fight against the English. At one time he approached within forty miles of Albany, and seems to have meditated an assault upon that town; but he was totally defeated by a party of Mohawks and driven back upon the Connecticut River. It was then in February that Philip led his force of Nipmucks and Wampanoags against Lancaster, on the occasion when Mrs. Rowlandson was captured. By July, all was over. Three powerful tribes had been wiped out of existence, Canonechet had been handed over to the Mohegans, who promptly tomahawked him, Philip had been hunted to his old lair at Mount Hope and shot through the heart. His head was carried to Plymouth and mounted on a tall pole on the village green before the meeting-house doors, whereby the people attending church might be made more devoutly thankful. Of the surviving Indians, nearly all were prisoners; and these were sold to slave-traders, who carried them off to the West Indies and elsewhere. Scarcely had this conclusion been reached in southern

New England when the blood-fever extended to the Tarratines on the Maine coast, and for two years more the burning and scalping went on along that frontier until by the summer of 1678 these enemies too were disposed of.

The net results of the three years' fighting were as follows : Of the 90 towns in Massachusetts and Plymouth, 12 had been completely blotted out, while 40 others had been the scene of massacre. More than 1000 New England men had lost their lives, and formidable war-debts were piled up against the treasuries of the several colonies. On the other hand, the hostile Indians had ceased to exist. Henceforth the men of New England had no longer to reckon with Indians in the midst of their territory. In years to come, damage enough was done by red men ; but these came from outside, and appeared as allies of the French, as we shall see hereafter.

It was in the midst of Philip's war that Charles II. once more turned his attention to these colonies ; not to send an armed force to their aid, as one might suppose, but to curb the rebellious propensities of which they had been accused. In 1675, there was appointed a special committee of the privy council under the style of " Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations." The popular name of this committee was " Lords of Trade." It was generally agreed that the people of New England, and in particular those of Massachusetts, set the navigation laws at defiance. Certainly a roaring trade went on without bringing in any revenue, and of course there must be a screw loose somewhere ; so Edward Randolph was appointed Collector of the Port of Boston, and in 1676 he came over to that town and for years was a rankling thorn in the flesh of New England. He was secretly instructed to ascertain the sentiments of the people and find out how they felt disposed toward the rule of the saints. He was to do all that he could to vex the magistrates and parsons and to strengthen the party which was dissatisfied with them. That dissatisfaction had reached the point where a crisis was impending. The unenfranchised population of Massachusetts now amounted to at least four-fifths of the whole. Government by the Lord's elect had thus come to be government by a small and stiff-necked oligarchy. Since the great strife of the day was the strife between this oligarchy and the king, it was natural that there should be a party in Massachusetts disposed to side with the king in order to diminish the powers of the oligarchy. In this way began the Royalist or Tory party in New England. The nicknames Whig and Tory were just coming into use in the old country to designate the two great political parties, the

Whigs answering to the old Parliamentary party, the Tories to the Cavaliers. The founders of the Tory party in New England were Edward Randolph and Joseph Dudley. The latter was son of the Thomas Dudley who came out as deputy governor with Winthrop. In a certain sense, the career of Joseph Dudley may be regarded as a living protest against that of his father. His whole conception of life and its ideals was widely different. He has been made the subject of much abuse at the hands of Massachusetts writers ; but his character will appear, I hope, in its true light as we proceed in our story.

For the sake of clearness, we may observe that the population of Boston had now reached about 5000, while that of Massachusetts numbered 30,000. In this number there must have been not far from 6000 adult males, of whom not more than 1200 were entitled to vote or hold office. In view of this fact, it was not strange if the Tory party had acquired considerable strength. As yet, however, that strength was less than one might have at first expected ; for even among those people who wished to curtail the powers of the "lords brethren," there were many who loved self-government enough to dread the effects of truckling to the king. In 1679, affairs were clearly moving toward a crisis. In 1643, Massachusetts had annexed the towns of Hampton, Exeter, Dover, and Portsmouth on the Piscataqua River, and against this act the heirs of John Mason had protested. In 1662, Massachusetts had gone further and taken possession of the whole coast of Maine, which she insisted on keeping in spite of the royal commissioners. This province was claimed by Ferdinando Gorges, grandson of the old knight, our former acquaintance. In 1677, the English courts rendered a decision upon these claims. They decided that the Piscataqua towns belonged neither to the Massachusetts Bay Company nor to the Mason family, but to the king, who thereupon took possession of them and made them into a royal province which he called New Hampshire. As for the Maine coast, the courts decided in favor of young Ferdinando, who at once began to think how he might turn this real estate into ready cash. He offered it to the king and also to the government of Massachusetts, which at once closed with his offer. Ferdinando might have £1250, or, in modern money, \$25,000, in exchange for that wild coast. The deed was made and the money paid over, when the king signified his willingness to accept Ferdinando's terms. Then, to be sure, there was an angry scene. What business had Massachusetts to come between the king and his customers ? Ferdinando must hand back his cash, and Governor Leverett must release the province of Maine in order that it might be sold to Charles II.

When this message reached Boston, it could no longer be obeyed by Leverett, who had recently died. His successor, Simon Bradstreet (Fig. 150), was one of the few survivors of the men who had come with Winthrop. His wife was Anne, the sister of Joseph Dudley, and in her own day eminent as a writer of poetry. When this venerable governor laid the royal order before the General Court, the only answer that was forthcoming after due deliberation was a polite but evasive answer. It was impossible for any king to tell from the wording of that answer whether they intended to comply with his order or not. So his next message to Massachusetts took on a more emphatic tone and threatened to bring



FIG. 150.—Simon Bradstreet (From a painting in Senate Chamber of the State House, Mass.)

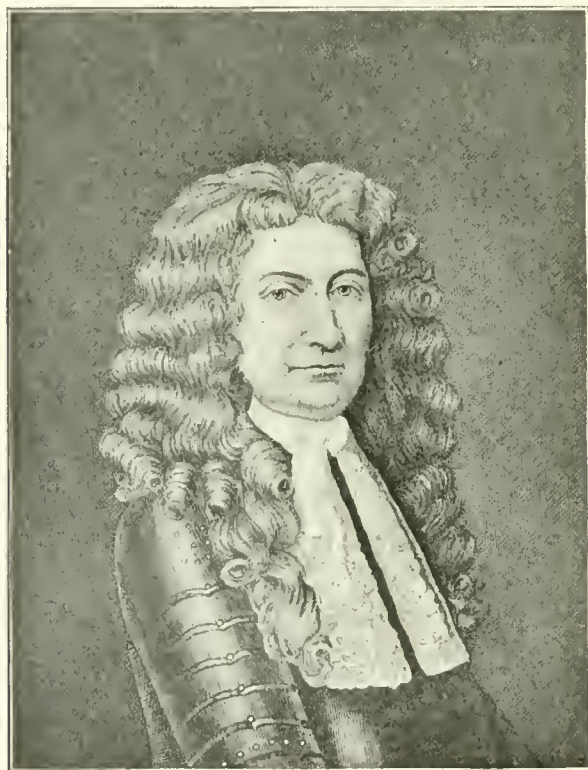
suit against the charter if his wishes were not complied with. Thus things dawdled along until 1684, when Randolph, whose tongue and pen had been busy in England, returned to Boston with a peremptory demand to show the governor, while he kept in his pocket a writ of *quo warranto* which he was to serve if occasion should require it. The news created a profound sensation, and it came at a time when recent tyrannical acts of Charles in England had caused a sudden revulsion of feeling against the Tories. So it happened that when the question was put at a great meeting in the Old South church, whether the colony should allow her charter to be given up, not a single voice could be found

in favor of such an act of submission. The only thing that could be got from that multitude was a stern refusal.

To this the king replied, not quite in the way which he had intended, but by obtaining from the Chancery Court a writ of *scire facias*, which cancelled and annulled the charter which his father had granted in 1629 to the Company of Massachusetts Bay. Scarcely had this been accomplished when Charles died, and his brother, the Duke of York, succeeded to the throne as James II.

So far as the overthrow of the Massachusetts charter was concerned, the aims of the new king coincided with those of his brother. At the same time, they included much more. The growth of the French power on the St. Lawrence was becoming formidable, while the difficulty of securing concerted action among the various English colonies was great. It was accordingly a pet scheme of James to unite all the northern colonies under a single viceroy, who should be able to manage military affairs according to his own best judgment, and who should be able to raise money for the purpose without the annoyance of asking representative assemblies to grant it. This scheme, of course, would have converted the government of the English colonies into a despotism, such as England had never witnessed, even in the worst of times. To carry out these ideas, James appointed Sir Edmund Andros (Fig. 151), an honest and energetic officer, whose chief virtue was a mastiff-like fidelity to his master, and whose principal shortcoming was an aggressiveness of manner and want of tact. Andros was made viceroy of New England, under which name it was designed to include all the northern colonies, with the possible exception of the lately founded colony of William Penn, whose wishes, for reasons hereafter to be stated, the king could not well afford to disregard. To complete the transition from the old state of things to the new, it would be necessary to annul all such obstacles as charters. The colony of Plymouth had never had one; those of Rhode Island and Connecticut were to be seized; for New York, a charter had been engrossed by James as duke, but he had not yet affixed to it his royal signature; and as for New Jersey and Maryland, a brief course of legal procedure would suffice. The seat of government for the new viceroyalty was Boston. In pursuance of the king's orders, Andros went to New York—of which he had once been governor—and there in his presence the seal of that province was publicly broken and the great seal of the New England viceroyalty inaugurated in its place. Then Andros had all the important public documents conveyed to Boston for his convenience in consulting them.

His experience at Hartford is celebrated in tradition. There he encountered that great soldier, Robert Treat, who was then governor of the republic of Connecticut. In the council chamber, the impetuous viceroy got a Roland for his Oliver; in the midst of an angry discussion the lights went out, and, when tinder had been found and rubbed, the parchment bone of contention had mysteriously vanished. The



Andros

FIG. 151.—Sir Edmund Andros. (From "Memorial History of New York.")

mode of its disappearance could not very well be inscribed upon the public records; but a very trustworthy tradition has preserved the fact that one of Treat's stout captains, an Indian-queller like himself, had carried it away and thrust it into the hollow trunk of a mighty oak-tree, which thereafter for nearly two centuries, until it was blown down in a gale, was known as the Charter Oak. Sir Edmund's experience

in Rhode Island, though less dramatic, was equally significant. Before his arrival in Newport, the governor, Walter Clarke, had handed over the charter to his brother with instructions to keep it well out of sight; and so, although the viceroy was received with all due politeness, the document which he wanted was not forthcoming.

In spite of these rebuffs, however, there was nothing to prevent Sir Edmund from taking control of all the machinery of government in both those states. An illustration of the feeling toward him may be gathered from a brief colloquy which is said to have taken place in Hartford on the morning of a day which had been appointed for a fast. Meeting on the street Rev. Samuel Hooker, pastor of the church at Farmington, Sir Edmund jocosely said: "I suppose all the good people of Connecticut are fasting and praying to-day on my account." The good pastor's reply was prompt: "Yes, sir, we read 'this kind goeth not out but by fasting and prayer.'"

It was in Boston, where the viceroy spent most of his time, that his hand was most heavily felt. There his conduct went far beyond what Dudley and the Tories could approve. Titles were challenged and only acknowledged after the payment of an exasperating quit-rent. For all kinds of legal service, excessive fees were charged. Town documents were brought to Boston; so that, in order to consult them, all the mountains in the country had to come to Mahomet. Town meetings were declared illegal, and as far as possible suppressed. Taxes were arbitrarily assessed by Andros and his council and collected by his officials; and when the town of Ipswich, under the lead of its brave pastor, John Wise, protested against this tyranny, Mr. Wise was thrown into prison for seditious behavior. A censorship was established over the press, and severe penalties awaited the printing of any opinions or sentiments displeasing to his Excellency.

Along with all this, an event occurred which was distinctly in the right direction, but which the Boston theocracy resented perhaps quite as much as any of these infringements upon liberty. Episcopacy was introduced into Boston. It was decreed that an Episcopal chapel should be built there; and until it should be ready for use, there was to be a regular Episcopal service alternating with the Congregational services held by Samuel Willard (Fig. 152) in the Old South meeting-house. To the most stiff-necked among the Puritans, this seemed like throwing the doors wide open for the welcome of Satan; but there were many people to whom it must have come with a sense of relief. The first Episcopal church built in 1689 on the eastern slope of the Tre-

mont or Triple Hill was called the King's Chapel; and there its successor, built somewhat later on the same spot, still stands; while in the church-yard may be seen to-day the grave of the gentle Lady Andros at whose death in that turbulent year the citizens of Boston sorely grieved, and many a staunch Puritan was seen to lift his hat with tender compassion for the bereaved tyrant.

The air was thick with forebodings of a political crisis when on an April day of 1689 there arrived the news of the flight of King James to France and the landing of the Prince of Orange in England. The strain could be borne no longer. Without waiting to know the end of the act that was being played in London, the people of Boston and its neighborhood arose in insurrection. The tar-barrels on the highest



FIG. 152. — Rev. Samuel Willard.

peak of the Triple Mount, which gave it the name of Beacon Hill, were set ablaze and aroused the country for many a mile. The royal troops, the first which had ever been set ashore in Boston, were too few to deal with such a rising. Sir Edmund was fleeing to the *Rose* frigate in the harbor, intending to escape to New York, when he suddenly found himself arrested and thrown into prison. At once, the old republican government was restored, with the venerable Bradstreet for governor. The whole affair was so skillfully managed and so ably reported at London, that the new king could in no wise interpret it as a blow aimed at the mother country, but only at the despot whom she had cast off. Immediately in the other New England colonies the old governments were resumed, and so there was an end to King James's united New England. The action of Boston also wrought remarkable

effects in New York, but this part of the story must be reserved for a future chapter.

The policy of the new king toward New England was one of compromise. As the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island had never been actually surrendered, King William did not now demand them, and so those republics went on undisturbed. He had no mind, however, to restore the arrogant theocracy of Massachusetts, which had so long maintained a semi-rebellious attitude. That form of government known as the royal province, of which Virginia was the earliest example, was a favorite one with King William, and it seemed to be the type toward which all colonial governments were tending. When, therefore, the new charter was granted in 1691, it gave to Massachusetts a governor appointed by the crown, while in other respects she retained her freedom of elections and her self-government unimpaired. The religious qualification for the suffrage was abrogated and a property qualification put in its place, and thus the theocracy received a mortal wound. This consummation was not to be regretted. The Puritan oligarchy had done great things. It had performed services to liberty for which mankind will ever be its debtor. But if it had lived any longer, it would have outlived its usefulness. Its strength had been partly due to a stolid rigidity of its own which had sown many tares along with its wheat, and it was high time that those tares should be uprooted. The sixty years of New England life which we have passed in review were years of persistent and varied activity, and remind us in a small way of the republics of ancient Greece and mediæval Italy. They have their lessons of perennial value, and it is for this reason that history is called upon to preserve the details of their most significant events. The career of New England for the next two generations, while exhibiting signal progress, is decidedly less piquant and stimulating than the period which began with the voyage of the *Mayflower* and ended with the coming of the first royal governor, Sir William Phips, himself a native of New England, bearing the new charter which made Massachusetts a royal province.

By that charter, the boundaries of Massachusetts were enlarged. The province of New Hampshire, indeed, maintained its independent existence; but Massachusetts received the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, which had belonged to New York. Plymouth lost its separate existence and was annexed to Massachusetts, which also received the entire coast of Maine and that of Nova Scotia besides, in so far as it had won from the French. In this concentration of so great an

extent of coast under a single government at Boston, we see King William partially carrying into effect the ideas of King James. The military purpose was the same; and as for the circumstances which called it forth, we shall explain them in a future chapter.

We must now return to the shores of Chesapeake Bay and see what had been going on there during half a century.

CHAPTER IX.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

IT was natural that, in the founding of European states in the New World, various business methods should be resorted to. The first enterprise, that of Columbus, was undertaken by the crown, and for some time supported out of the royal treasury; and except for the brief and unfortunate attempts at proprietary rule by the great admiral and his brother Bartholomew, the colony on Hispaniola may be called from the start a crown colony. At all events, it clearly became so with the arrival of Ovando in 1502. Again, the early introduction of the *audiencia* into Mexico, soon followed by the appointment of a viceroy, made that country also a crown colony. As for Peru, we may consider Francisco Pizarro as in a certain sense its lord proprietor, and it did not strictly become a crown colony until the administration of President Gasca. The earliest attempts of the French upon the St. Lawrence took the shape of proprietary colonies. Roberval might be regarded as a lord proprietor, and so might Poutrincourt, Monts, the Hundred Associates, and others. But under Louis XIV. Canada became in the strictest sense a crown colony or royal province. As for the work of English colonization, it began by granting a certain amount of American soil to Gilbert and afterward to Raleigh as lords proprietors. The period of the Virginia Company from 1606 to 1624 may also be regarded as a period of proprietary rule in which a joint stock company stood in the place of a single lord. Into the same category might fall the Company of Massachusetts Bay, were it not for the singular features introduced by the bodily transfer of the company with its charter to America and the subsequent spontaneous growth of a number of semi-independent republics. The position of these republics in the history of colonization had such strongly individual features that it hardly admits of being classified.

A general survey, however, shows clearly that with England the method in which the royal government took the initiative was not the favorite method. After English colonies had been successfully established so that it was worth while for the crown to take over to itself the

management of them, the tendency was to transform them into royal provinces; but in the first instance the labor and expense were borne by individuals or by joint stock companies. Thus the earliest form was some kind of lord-proprietorship. Land in America would be given to some powerful person on condition that he would go and develop its resources. The adventurer took the risks, and, if successful, the crown reaped a certain percentage of the profits.



FIG. 153. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore. (From an engraving by Caldwell from the original picture. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

Like other institutions, the proprietary colony was not developed in a moment. The first thoroughly matured conception of it was exhibited in 1623 in the charter granted by James I. to George Calvert (Fig. 153), the first Lord Baltimore. This document conveyed to Lord Baltimore the island of Newfoundland, and the nature of the proceeding was made as clear as noonday when the grant was described as that of a palatinate. For the modern American reader, however, this term may require some explanation. During the Middle Ages it was commonly the case that frontier counties or districts required a stronger government than those in the interior of a kingdom. The constant exposure to attack made it

necessary that the governor should be able to call out and wield the military force of the district without awaiting the result of an application to some distant seat of government. For the same reason it was often necessary that he should raise money quickly. Moreover, the frequent occurrence of invasion was apt to create such turbulence as to call for a sharp and prompt administration of justice upon breaches of the peace. For such reasons it was common to give to the governors of sundry exposed frontier districts extraordinary powers, similar to those which the king wielded in his palace. Such districts were known as palatinates. A famous instance is afforded by the debatable ground on the western frontier of Germany, which was known for centuries as the Rhenish Palatinate. Its rulers were called Counts Palatine of the Rhine. In similar fashion, certain border counties of England were long known as palatinates or counties palatine. Of these the most famous were the earldom of Chester on the border of Wales and the bishopric of Durham hard by the Scottish border. In the seventeenth century the Durham palatinate was the one which chiefly retained its importance, and it seemed to furnish a practical model after which to shape colonies that were to be planted in a wilderness. The same peculiar military and civil needs which were felt in a district bordering on Wales or Scotland were likely to be felt with tenfold force in a civilized region bordering upon the American wilderness. The political constitution of Durham was therefore taken as the model upon which to frame the proprietary domain bestowed upon Lord Baltimore. His position as lord proprietor was to be quite as king-like as the position of the Bishop of Durham; nay, even more so, for that prelate was, after all, at home in England among all the restraints of civilization, while a lord proprietary on the western shores of the Atlantic might well need to exert powers that were almost royal.

It was not, however, in Newfoundland that the first and most interesting career of an American palatinate was destined to be developed. For various reasons Lord Baltimore's little colony there was not successful; and when a change was once thought of, it was decided to try a more congenial climate. After more or less discussion a position was selected in the northern part of the Chesapeake country. One reason for this choice was the fact that the Dutch had begun to occupy the territory between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, and it was thought desirable to check their expansion. Accordingly, in 1632, a new charter was issued in which Lord Baltimore's palatinate was transferred from Newfoundland to the shores of Chesapeake Bay. His brief rule

in the great northern island is still commemorated in the name of Avalon, which he gave to his principality there, and in that of Ferryland, which is a corruption of Verulam, the name of one of his manorial estates.

Before the charter of 1632 had been signed by the king Lord Baltimore died, and the grant was renewed in the name of his son Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore. In the palatinate thus founded, which was called Maryland, after Queen Henriette Marie (Fig. 151), daughter of the great



FIG. 151. Queen Henriette Marie.
(From "Memorial History of New
York.")

Henry IV., the sovereignty was vested in Cecilius Calvert, with powers substantially as great as those of a king, saving only a formal allegiance to the British crown and an annual rent of two Indian arrows. In addition to this, the king was to receive one-fifth of all the precious metals that should be mined within the colony. But as no such metals were ever found there, no surplus in the royal treasury was ever occasioned by this provision. Cecilius was to have a council, the acts of which were to be revised or supplemented by a representative assembly chosen by the people. Thus we have once more the typical English governing body: governor, council, and assembly; or in other words, king, lords, and commons reproduced in miniature. Among the kingly powers granted to the lord proprietor were those of coining

money, granting titles of nobility, and creating courts. He could also punish and pardon criminals, and all writs ran in his name instead of the king's. These were probably the most extensive powers ever granted by the British crown to any subject. The palatinate type was afterward repeated in other colonies than Maryland, but no other lord proprietor ever enjoyed such full measure of sovereignty as the Calverts. Moreover, the proprietorship was made strictly hereditary in the Calvert family; so that, among the thirteen colonies which grew into the United States, the colony of Maryland was distinguished as strictly an hereditary monarchy.

One of the most interesting aspects of Lord Baltimore's enterprise is its attitude toward the vexed question of church and state. When George Calvert obtained his charter of 1623, he was still a member of the Church of England; but he soon afterward became a Catholic, and one of his objects in founding a colony was to make a home for Catholic families who labored under civil or social disabilities in England. Such a purpose could not be avowed; but in the case of a court favorite like Baltimore it might be connived at. The only policy practicable for Baltimore was that of universal toleration, just as in later days James II. sought to inculcate a policy of toleration in the interests of Catholicism. The resemblance, however, is only on the surface; for while with the Stuart king toleration was designed to subserve a temporary purpose, the end of which was to be the exaltation of Catholicism at the expense of all toleration, on the other hand Lord Baltimore was sufficiently broad-minded to realize the permanent merits of a tolerant and conciliatory policy. The effects of these circumstances upon the history of Maryland were in many respects curious.

There was nothing in the charter which required the lord proprietor to visit his principality in person; and in point of fact Cecilius never crossed the Atlantic. Many times he intended to do so; but enemies of this Catholic colony were always numerous and busy in London, and he found that he could best serve the interests of Maryland by remaining near the court. He appointed his own brother, Leonard Calvert, to be governor of Maryland; and Leonard, coming out with a couple of ships carrying 300 colonists, arrived in Chesapeake Bay toward the end of March, 1634. The first settlement was made in an Indian village which the settlers bought from its native inhabitants, paying them chiefly with steel hatchets and hoes, to which were added some large rolls of cloth. To this first settlement they gave the name St. Mary's, after the queen's patron saint. It stood on a bluff overlooking the river of that name, which flows into the broad Potomac near its mouth. The Indians who moved away from the village were Algonquins, who retired to join some of their brethren further inland. Their withdrawal left the Susquehannocks as the nearest neighbors of the settlers, and for many years the Susquehannocks found so much to do in withstanding the onset of the Five Nations that all they asked of the white men to the south of them was to be let alone.

Not only from Indian perils, but also from the other hardships incident to colonization, the Marylanders were exceptionally free. They were a set of well-to-do people who came upon the scene well equipped.

The lands around their village had already been cleared and planted by the red men, live stock could easily be had from Virginia, and the business of agriculture thrived from the outset. The colony had a steady and substantial growth along the northern shores of the great bay. Within forty years from its founding it had a population of 20,000 souls, and had already come to have an importance in American history much more than commensurate with its size—a statement which has ever since held true, even down to the present day.

The grant of this noble territory to Lord Baltimore excited heart-burnings in Virginia. There could be no doubt that this grant by King Charles was a barefaced encroachment upon territory long since granted to Virginia by King James. This sort of thing was customary with the Stuart kings, to give away to B. what had already been granted to A.; and happy were A. and B., if the royal munificence did not presently bestow upon C. that identical piece of property. This resulted partly from that ignorance of American geography which in that day was pardonable, but which some of their British descendants still manifest with less excuse. It came partly also from the characteristic Stuart carelessness of the plighted word. When a Stuart king gave anything he probably meant it—for the moment; but as soon as one had passed out of his presence he was likely to forget and to turn the sluices of his kindly feeling in some other direction. From these careless and conflicting grants have come the greater part of the quarrels over boundary-lines and jurisdictions which have vexed the older American states and given rise to bitter feelings between neighbors. One of the earliest of these quarrels was that which is associated with the name of the personage who is often called "Claiborne the Rebel." This worthy man, a native of the beautiful lake country in the north of England, came to Virginia in 1621, and not only acquired large wealth, but was greatly loved and esteemed by his fellow-planters, so that after a while he was made secretary of state for the colony. He was called upon in this capacity to enter a protest against Lord Baltimore's charter. In such a protest his own private interests were also enlisted. A few years before Baltimore's people made their settlement at St. Mary's, Claiborne had taken possession of Kent Island in the northern part of Chesapeake Bay, nearly opposite the site of Annapolis. This island was clearly within the limits of Virginia according to its latest charter, and Claiborne had as good a right to appropriate territory in that direction as if he had gone up James River and secured for his own behoof a piece of wilderness thereabouts. Claiborne effected a thorough

occupation of Kent Island by building houses and mills, planting fields and orchards, and rearing cattle. In 1632 Kent Island sent a member to the House of Burgesses. His object in securing this possession was to obtain a monopoly of the fur-trade with the natives along the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers, and so on northward to the Great Lakes. In 1631 he obtained a royal license granting him such a monopoly in so far as it could be exercised without infringing upon any other monopolies already granted.

All the efforts of Virginia to get Baltimore's charter revoked were futile. When Leonard Calvert arrived upon the scene in 1634, he offered to give Claiborne every aid in his power in developing the settlement on Kent Island, only Claiborne must hold it as a tenant of Lord Baltimore, and not as a Virginian tenant of the crown. When Claiborne reported this offer to the Council of Virginia, he was told that there was no more reason for surrendering Kent Island than for giving up Jamestown itself; the former was part of Virginia as much as the latter. So Claiborne returned to his island, and there perhaps he might have long remained unmolested—for the policy of the Calverts was to be as conciliatory as possible—had not a report been spread about that he was intriguing with the Indians. The story told in this connection is extremely curious. An Algonquin tribe in the neighborhood somehow got the impression that the white settlers at St. Mary's were Spaniards; and even at that distance from the West Indies the name of Castilian seems for the natives to have had evil associations. The origin of the notion seems obvious. Somebody must have told the Indians that the newcomers were papists, and the aboriginal mind was not at all likely to accomplish such a feat as distinguishing between an English and a Spanish papist. A certain skipper and trader named Henry Fleet, who seems to have been a rival of Claiborne in the fur-trade, accused him of casting this somewhat dangerous imputation against the new colony; and when all this came to the ears of Cecilus in London, he authorized his brother Leonard to send over to Kent Island and arrest Claiborne; but the execution of this order was stayed by a letter from the king. The bitter feelings on Chesapeake Bay, however, soon found expression in various acts of hostility between ships employed by the two colonies or otherwise in sympathy with one or the other. Three or four naval fights ensued, with more or less bloodshed and with varying fortunes. It was at this time that there occurred that expulsion of Governor Harvey from Virginia which we have already described. Harvey was regarded by the Virginians as too fond of Marylanders, and one of his acts which

precipitated the crisis was the removal of the highly respected Claiborne from his office of secretary.

For two years more Claiborne retained possession of his island ; but difficulties thickened in his path. He had formed a kind of partnership with a firm of London merchants, who had advanced money to him and to many of his colonists. The long squabbling had been hurtful to business ; and as the London merchants were not receiving furs enough, they sent over an attorney to Kent Island, who began making arrests for debt until the aggrieved debtors grew mutinous. The island soon became a bedlam ; and while Claiborne went to urge his claims in London, the hard-pressed attorney was obliged to seek aid from Leonard Calvert, who at last reached forth his hand and clutched the island. Not long afterward it was decided in London that the island belonged to Lord Baltimore, and thus it might seem that the worthy Claiborne was at last completely discomfited.

But the territorial question at issue between Virginia and Maryland soon became curiously complicated with questions of religious toleration. From the time of Dale's administration Puritans had been coming to Virginia, until in 1638 there were about 1000 of them in a total population of 14,000. In 1631 the Assembly had passed an act of uniformity requiring all clergymen to conform to the customs and practices of the Church of England. But this act was not carefully enforced, and in 1643, after the arrival of Sir William Berkeley, a new act was passed, in which the penalty of nonconformity was instant banishment ; so that the treatment of heretics was not very different in Virginia from what it was in Massachusetts. It happened that the next year our old acquaintance Opekankano once more took the war-path and massacred some 300 colonists. The persecution of Puritans had already begun, and people in Massachusetts saw in this hideous calamity a judgment of Providence upon the Virginians for maltreating the Lord's elect ; but the people of Virginia interpreted it as a judgment upon them for having harbored Puritans so long. The work of persecution, therefore, went on more briskly than ever. In the course of the next year, 1645, the king's party in England were clearly getting the worst of it, and urgent business called both Governor Berkeley and Governor Calvert to England. During their absence there came to Maryland a royal order that any Parliament ships entering Chesapeake Bay should be seized. The deputy governor, therefore, in a fit of somewhat excessive zeal, seized the ship of a roving skipper named Richard Ingle, whose proclivities were Puritan. There was thus brought upon the scene another

victim of adverse fortune, like Claiborne; and the cohesive power of sympathy in affliction soon brought about a military alliance between Claiborne and Ingle, who presently returned with a larger and stronger ship. The result of this alliance was the speedy conquest not only of Kent Island, but of the Maryland colony itself, by the new allies. Two years ensued during which Ingle and Claiborne had pretty much everything their own way; then Governor Calvert with the aid of Governor Berkeley succeeded in turning them out. In the course of the next year Leonard Calvert died, leaving an enviable reputation. For integrity and breadth of intelligence, as well as humanity and courtesy, he ranks among the best of American public men in any age. In the choice of a new governor to succeed him, his brother Cecilus showed much shrewdness. His choice fell upon a member of the Puritan party named William Stone. Cecilus then drew up his famous "Toleration Act," which was passed by Stone's assembly of 1649. The religious liberty accorded by this act falls somewhat short of that upon which we should be disposed to insist to-day, inasmuch as it provides, for the crime of holding Unitarian opinions, the punishment of death and confiscation of goods. But for all believers in the Trinity, whether Catholics, Episcopalians, Independents, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Baptists, or what-not, there should be even-handed toleration. So careful was the act in this particular that even making fun of another person's religious views was made a misdemeanor punishable with a fine of ten shillings.

Now the year in which this Toleration Act was passed was a memorable year. One of the earliest events in it was the beheading of Charles I., and that event marked the beginning of an exodus of Cavaliers to Virginia. It is customary for Americans to regard Virginia as pre-eminently a Cavalier state, just as Massachusetts is emphatically a Puritan state. This was not conspicuously the case before the death of Charles I., although the prevailing tone in Virginia was already royalist, enough so to make it seem a desirable refuge for Cavaliers who wished to leave England. During the eleven years that elapsed before the return of Charles II. in 1660, Cavaliers kept flocking to Virginia in much the same way that Puritans flocked to New England during the eleven years between 1629 and 1640, when Charles I. was ruling without a Parliament. Curiously enough, the year 1649 witnessed an exchange of migrations. During that year not less than 1000 Cavaliers came into Virginia, and during that same year about the same number of Puritans went from Virginia into Maryland, leaving the older colony quite free from the taint of Puritanism. On the bank of a broad river

which they named the Severn, they formed a settlement which for a time bore the name Providence, but was afterward named for Lady Baltimore, Anne Arundel, while its principal town was called Annapolis. Governor Stone welcomed the arrival of these immigrants as adding strength to his colony, but they soon became troublesome to their Catholic neighbors. It was a moment when Puritanism was uppermost in the English world. The Virginia Assembly expressed its disapproval of the king's execution in such emphatic terms that Parliament sent a small fleet to the James River and informed Sir William Berkeley that his resignation would be acceptable. There was nothing to be done but to submit; so Berkeley retired to his plantation at Green Spring, and there for some years he and his Cavalier friends fared sumptuously on venison and wild turkey, and doubtless, under the privacy of that hospitable roof, drank many a health to the youthful King Charles, then off upon his travels. One of the Parliamentary commissioners who thus received the submission of Virginia was our old friend William Claiborne, whom we thus find riding on the top of the tide. The next year he was once more secretary of state under a Puritan governor chosen by the House of Burgesses. This governor, whose name was Richard Bennett, soon turned his attention to Maryland. In company with Claiborne, he more than once visited St. Mary's, and the twain had a precious time of it in alternately deposing Governor Stone and then reinstating him in office, according to his refusal or consent to comply with their demands. The chief bone of contention was the question whether writs should run in the name of Lord Baltimore or in that of the Rump Parliament. At length, in 1654, Stone was finally deposed and the government passed entirely into the hands of the Puritans. This led, in the course of another year, to civil war. On the bank of the Severn there was a little battle in which the Puritans were victorious; but all their efforts and triumphs went for nothing when it appeared that Cromwell was not on their side. It seemed to the Lord Protector that public policy required the maintenance in their full integrity of grants made by previous rulers of England; consequently he favored Lord Baltimore, and the Puritans in Maryland were soon glad to end the long contention by a series of compromises.

A few moments ago we mentioned the exodus of Cavaliers from England into Virginia which began in 1649. The numbers that came over must have been very considerable, for the twenty years following 1650 saw the population of Virginia increase from 15,000 to 38,000. At the same time we notice a marked and rapid increase in the size of

the landed estates newly granted to planters. Before 1650 the largest grants contained little more than 5000 acres, and in some years the largest grants would be from 600 to 800 acres. After 1650 we notice an abrupt change. Grants of 10,000 acres become frequent, and in many cases they run up to 20,000. These facts show that the persons who received estates at this period were in the main wealthy persons, able to command the services of enough laborers to work these immense estates. We may observe, in passing, that there were as yet very few negroes in the colony, cheap labor being supplied almost entirely by the class of people known as indented white servants. To this point we shall recur hereafter. Before 1650 the student of Virginian history finds comparatively few of the names which now seem characteristic of Virginia; but soon after 1650 we meet with Carys, Ludwells, Robinsons, Monroes, Madisons, Pendletons, Washingtons, Randolphs, and others of political and social importance. Like the Puritan settlers of New England, these Cavaliers who came to Virginia were picked men, and have played a part in history that is quite out of proportion to their mere numbers.

In spite of the notable increase of population and the extensive nature of the land-grants, the colony of Virginia was still for the most part comprised in the peninsula between the York and James rivers, from the sea as far up as Richmond, together with the southern portion of the Accomac peninsula. The people were treated by Charles II. in a manner that was not calculated to nourish their feelings of loyalty. The first evil, however, under which they labored was due rather to legislative stupidity, a bane from which the world is not yet entirely freed. The Navigation Act, which was the cause of such multifarious trouble in America, bore with especial severity upon Virginia and Maryland. It lowered the price of tobacco, and as in those colonies tobacco was the circulating medium, the virtual effect was a depreciation of the currency. This, of course, meant an inflation in the prices of all articles imported from England. It took more tobacco to buy them; and as nearly all the articles in daily use—furniture and clothing, tools and utensils—were imported from England, this inflation of prices greatly increased the cost of living. Clumsy attempts were made to cure the depreciation by burning a part of the tobacco crop, or by ordering for certain years a cessation of planting. But such attempts were apt to fail through lack of the needful co-operation; it was not easy to make a whole community act together in such matters. It is not strange that among the smaller planters, and even among some of the larger ones,

there were debtors who found liquidation difficult; and in some parishes there were meetings for the purpose of resisting the collection of taxes.

The popular discontent was exacerbated by the conduct of Sir William Berkeley, who had been replaced in the governorship by Charles II. immediately upon his restoration in 1660. Berkeley was a man of a type common in all ages: faithful to his duty, but narrow-minded, bigoted, and capable of cruelty. In England he was one of the gayest of courtiers and a man of literary tastes withal, for he wrote plays which were performed in the London theatres. Among friends he was a pleasant boon companion, and tradition calls him a most excellent and loving husband. But he could not brook contradiction, and was liable to outbursts of anger which carried him to the verge of insanity. This weakness increased as he grew older. He had no sympathy with popular government, and would have been very glad to get rid of that many-tongued beast, a House of Burgesses; but as this was impossible, he did the next best thing. The House which was elected in 1661 contained an overwhelming majority of enthusiastic Cavaliers, advocates of high prerogative. From Berkeley's point of view it was as unobjectionable a House as could be got together. He therefore kept it together year after year without ordering any new elections. This was achieved by the simple device of adjourning the House from year to year, while the people looked on and grumbled without exactly knowing what to do.

In this way the seeds of rebellion were industriously sown by the governor and his friends for fifteen years. Such a usurpation would probably not have been permitted had there not been a growing opposition of interests between the large and small planters. Our documentary evidence of this opposition is more scanty than we could wish, but the traces of it are quite visible for many years in the local annals, as well as in the stormy events of 1676. During the latter half of the seventeenth century, along with the increase in the size of estates and with the gradual extension of negro slavery, we discern the symptoms of concentration of political power in the hands of the Cavalier aristocracy. This was first shown by their striking at the very core of free government, the parish vestry. Originally the vestrymen, who were usually twelve in number, were elected by the people of the parish, so that they corresponded very nearly to the selectmen in New England. But soon after the meeting of the strongly royalist assembly in 1661 a law was enacted which transformed the vestry into a kind of close corporation. It was enacted that vacancies among the vestrymen should be filled by the vote

of the other vestrymen and the minister. Technically speaking, this was a change from open to close vestry; and practically it amounted to taking local government out of the hands of the people and lodging it in a small aristocracy of vestrymen. The importance of this step can best be appreciated when we consider that the vestry wielded powers quite as great as the New England town-meeting. It not only levied the taxes, but elected the church wardens, who were usually the collectors. It controlled the registry of land titles, presented the minister for induction into office, and by its supervision of the counting of tobacco exercised more or less control over the currency. Thus, during the period of the Long Assembly from 1661 to 1676, the people were without any voice in the government, and this state of things was felt by many as a serious grievance.

Before the end of this period the king exhibited a peculiarly exasperating instance of disregard for the rights and feelings of the people of Virginia. In 1673 he made a grant of the whole country to the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper, to hold as lords proprietors. It proved impossible to carry this lawless grant into operation, but it aroused much irritation in Virginia.

Things were ripe for rebellion in the summer of 1675, when the tomahawk and scalping-knife came in to complicate the situation. It is a curious coincidence that this was the summer in which King Philip's war broke out in New England. But there seems to have been no connection between the two affairs. The troubles in Virginia were brought on by the crushing defeat of the Susquehannocks at the hands of their kinsmen, the Five Nations. The remnant of the Susquehannock tribe moved slowly southward to the Potomac, pushed onward by the victorious Senecas. About this time a settler near the site of Fredericksburg was murdered by Algonquins; and during the pursuit of the murderers a few Susquehannocks were shot by mistake. These barbarians retaliated after their manner by making incursions against the whites. They occupied an old blockhouse on the bank of the Potomac, where they were besieged by a party of Virginia troops under Colonel John Washington, aided by a force of Marylanders under Major Thomas Trueman. This John Washington had come over from England with his brother Lawrence in 1657. They belonged to the Washingtons of Sulgrave, a family which had for many generations been one of the most eminent in Northamptonshire, comprising magistrates, mayors of cities, army officers, and clergymen. They were connected by marriage with the peerage, and many of them had been knighted for distinguished

public service. This Colonel John Washington, the emigrant, was great-grandfather of George Washington. Colonel Washington's brief campaign disclosed the fact that a formidable alliance had been made between the Susquehannocks and the Algonquins of the neighborhood. The situation was made worse by the killing of five Susquehannock envoys, an outrage for which Colonel Washington does not seem to have been responsible. His force proved too small to hold in check the waves of barbaric invasion, and before many weeks the whole frontier was given over to tomahawk and firebrand. It was a terrible moment, when the very existence of the commonwealth seemed to demand that the militia should be called out in full force. But the despotic Berkeley had seen so many symptoms of disaffection that he was really afraid to call together the militia. At this juncture loud murmurs were heard and some people demanded the election of a new assembly. Meanwhile Berkeley continued vainly hoping that the Indian storm would blow over before he should find it necessary to adopt any measures fraught with discomfort or danger to himself.

There were others in the colony who regarded such conduct with swelling rage. Chief among them was a young man of eight-and-twenty named Nathaniel Bacon, a member of one of the most aristocratic families in Suffolk and a kinsman of the great Lord Bacon. On the mother's side he was descended from the eminent family of Brooke; so that his blood was blue to his very finger-ends. He was often known as young Bacon, to distinguish him from an aged cousin and namesake who was one of the most wealthy men in the colony, and, as it was thought, had made the young man his heir. Young Nathaniel had read deeply and traveled widely; in spite of his youth, he had already a seat in the council, where his opinions carried weight. In personal appearance he was very noticeable: tall and slender, with swarthy cheeks, and great, cavernous, melancholy eyes; a person evidently born, to be foremost, like Daniel Webster.

Now this young Bacon, with all his blue blood, was a man of democratic sympathies. He was the spokesman of that part of the community which had been deprived of the vote for vestrymen and had likewise in 1670 been excluded by a property qualification from the right of voting for burgesses. Bacon evidently looked with disfavor upon the steady absorption of power into the hands of his fellow-aristocrats, and he felt called upon to oppose them, somewhat as Thomas Jefferson did a hundred years later. That he would have had an eminent public career if his life had been spared, there can be little doubt;

but the outbreak of the Indian war put him into a singular position, in which his career simply flashes before us for a moment, like that of a meteor.

In May, 1676, a party of Indians attacked one of Bacon's estates on the James River, near the site of Richmond, and killed some of his people; whereupon the planters of the neighborhood put themselves under his command, and he marched against the enemy, sending to the governor a request for a commission, but not waiting to obtain it. When Bacon fought, it was to conquer; and within a few days the country learned of the crushing defeat of the red men. When the news arrived it found Berkeley on horseback at the head of a troop, not to march against the Indians, but to arrest the audacious Bacon. It presently appeared, however, that this would not do. Sympathy for Bacon was widespread throughout the York peninsula, and the symptoms were so ugly that Berkeley thought it prudent to return to Jamestown and issue writs for an election of burgesses. The election resulted in a majority adverse to the governor. Bacon himself was one of the new members. On his arrival in Jamestown he was arrested and paroled; whereupon he took lodging in the house of his friend, Richard Lawrence. This gentleman was a graduate of Oxford, with a high reputation for learning and ability, and his views on the political situation seem to have been quite in harmony with Bacon's. Another friend and coadjutor was a shrewd Scotchman named William Drummond, who had served an apprenticeship in public affairs as governor of the little colony of North Carolina, which was composed entirely of small planters and had small sympathy with aristocratic government, or indeed with government of any sort. By the intercession of the elder Bacon, his young cousin was set free and allowed to take his seat in the House of Burgesses, but only after a very amusing scene in which the young man craved the governor's pardon and was ceremoniously forgiven. The acts passed by the new assembly tell us more eloquently than any narrative could, the nature of the evils from which the people were suffering. This assembly restored universal suffrage; it enacted that vestrymen should be elected by popular vote, and limited their term of office to three years. It made laws against the accumulation of many offices in a single person, and it imposed heavy penalties upon the delay of public business and the taking of excessive fees. It overthrew divers trade monopolies, disfranchised sundry magistrates for misconduct, and it provided for a regular inspection of public expenses with the proper auditing of accounts. Arrangements were further made for raising a force of 1000 men wherewith to subdue the Indians.

The decorous proceedings of the legislature were interrupted in most singular fashion. Bacon received a warning that his life was not safe in Jamestown, whereupon he fled one morning to his plantation, and presently returned at the head of 600 armed followers, with whom he overawed the governor until he was prevailed upon to sign Bacon's commission as general of the army to be sent against the Indians, and also a memorial drawn up by the legislature and setting forth the complaints of the colony. The assembly was then dissolved, and Bacon marched against the Indians. This second campaign lasted through the greater part of July and nearly annihilated the remnant of the Susquehannocks. Just at the end of it Bacon learned that the governor had retreated to the Accomac peninsula and had launched a proclamation declaring him and his followers to be engaged in armed rebellion. In response to this news, Bacon marched his whole force to the place then known as Middle Plantation, on the site where the city of Williamsburg was afterward built. Here he issued a manifesto setting forth the justice of his cause and arraigning Berkeley for his many usurpations and misdemeanors. He then called a convention of prominent gentlemen and invited them to subscribe to a covenant which he had prepared. By the first part of this agreement they were to promise not to aid Berkeley in prosecuting or otherwise annoying Bacon. By the second part they were to promise military aid to Bacon in resisting Berkeley, and even in holding out against the king's troops, should any be sent to Virginia, until it should be possible to make Charles II. see things in their true light. All the gentlemen present were ready to sign the first part of this covenant; but it was only after much hesitation and with great reluctance that many of them were brought to sign the second part, the effect of which might be to put them into an attitude of treason. There was no attempt at concealment, however, for the document was presently sent over to London for his Majesty to peruse.

This oath at Middle Plantation was taken on the third of August, and Bacon instantly resumed the work of quelling the Indians. By the first of September that work was accomplished. Of its details we know less than could be wished, but the salient facts seem to indicate that the melancholy-eyed young man might have been a match for Andrew Jackson in forest warfare. Upon his return to the tide-water region he found that Berkeley had been active. He had crossed the bay, raised about 1000 men, and taken possession of Jamestown, which he had begun defending with earth-works. Bacon promptly advanced and laid siege to the place, and, if we are to believe a contemporary

chronicler who was friendly to him, an incident occurred which was quite unworthy of a man who laid any claim to chivalry. Having occasion to build a parallel, it is said that he caused a number of ladies of the Berkeley party to stand upon the works conspicuous in white aprons, in order that their friends in the opposite camp might refrain from firing. However this may have been, the old man was no match for the young one when it came to fighting. Berkeley's force was soon scattered and he was obliged to flee, while Bacon burned Jamestown to the ground. He now began to show severity toward gentlemen of the opposite party, and in several instances plundered their estates, although no wanton acts of bloodshed or cruelty are recorded against him. What might have ensued we know not, for the finger of death was already upon Bacon. In the swamps about Jamestown he had caught a fever, and on the first day of October he died. His body was buried with great secrecy, lest the revengeful governor should exhume and desecrate it. Seldom has a man under thirty years of age, whose public career is contained within a period of five months, left so distinct and vivid an impression upon history as Nathaniel Bacon.

With the death of this leader the rebellion soon collapsed. It is clear that he had proceeded to somewhat greater lengths than many of his followers approved. Many of them now submitted to Berkeley without further resistance. The vengeance taken by that exasperated old man was cruel and ill-judged. More than twenty leaders, including Drummond, were hanged with scarcely the formality of a trial. As for the learned Richard Lawrence, he made his escape through the woods to some safer part of the world. When the royal commissioners arrived early in 1677 to investigate the affair, an end was put to the carnival of hanging and confiscation. The merry monarch at Whitehall did not approve of such a wholesale exercise of the power of life and death in a colonial governor. "Upon my word," said he, "the old fool has hanged more people in that wilderness than I did here for the murder of my father." Berkeley soon went home in the hope of justifying himself; but the king refused him an interview, and he soon afterward died. It was thought by some people that the accumulated passions of the last two years proved too much for him, so that on receiving the royal rebuff he died of despair.

It is probably correct to cite Berkeley's tyranny and Bacon's rebellion among the predisposing causes of the Revolution a century later. It left bloody memories behind it, just as the rule of Andros in New England left bitter memories of imprisonment and extortion. Hence-

forth we may readily believe that the attitude of the great planters toward their royal governors was more watchful and jealous than before. During the next twenty years Virginia was ruled by a succession of governors of small importance, whose names it is not necessary here to repeat; but one or two of them, with the principal events of their time, are worthy of mention. One of these was Francis Nicholson, who under James II. had been a lieutenant of Andros in New York, and in 1691 was promoted by the new sovereigns, William and Mary, to the governorship of Virginia. The chief incidents of his rule were the founding of Williamsburg and the establishment of a college there (Fig. 155). Jamestown never fully recovered from its demolition in Bacon's



FIG. 155.— College of William and Mary. (From Meade's "Old Churches of Virginia," vol. i.)

rebellion, and its situation was exposed to malaria. A new capital was therefore built at Middle Plantation, and named for the reigning sovereign. There was founded in 1693 the College of William and Mary, the second in age among American colleges. Though second in age, it is perhaps right to call it oldest in intention; for the enlightened men who controlled the Virginia Company in 1618 had designed such an institution before the Mayflower brought settlers to Plymouth. That early project was checked by the Indian massacre of 1622, and the fall of the company in 1624 put an end to it. From time to time attempts were made to revive the project; but nothing came of it until it was taken up by Dr. James Blair, a Scotch Episcopal clergyman, who was

sent over in 1692 to be commissary of the Episcopal church in America. This officer discharged the functions of a bishop in this outlying province. Dr. Blair was the first in a family which for two centuries has played an important part in American history. He was a man of inexhaustible energy and indomitable will. Whenever he got into a controversy it fared ill with his antagonist. To this day Virginia preserves many traditions of this high-minded and masterful old parson.

It was of no more use for the governor than for smaller people to try to withstand Dr. Blair. Upon this rock the worthy Nicholson was wrecked, and his former master, Sir Edmund Andros, came and took his place, only to incur the same fate. In the latter case the cause of contention was Sir Edmund's belief that money ought not to be wasted in building institutions of learning. The views of some of those royal governors were such as we are not now in the habit of hearing openly expressed. When a royal commissioner asked Sir William Berkeley about free schools in Virginia, the old man replied : "There are none, thank God ! and I hope there'll be none for a hundred years to come, for reading and writing are wont to beget a froward and seditious spirit."

With the beginning of the eighteenth century a new system was adopted. The Earl of Orkney was appointed governor of Virginia, and continued to hold that office for many years without ever visiting the colony. His functions were confined to drawing a handsome salary and spending it in London for his own behoof. The place was simply one of the sinecure offices, of which there were so many in England in the dark days when the spoils system throve there. The work of administration in Virginia was carried on by lieutenant-governors. Among these, three Scotchmen are especially worthy of mention. Alexander Spotswood was probably the best and ablest of all the colonial rulers of Virginia. He came in 1710 and remained in office until 1722, when he went down before Dr. Blair in a controversy as to the power of appointing parsons. Spotswood's duties were not discharged in a perfunctory manner. To him Virginia was not simply the place where he was to earn a salary ; but it was his country, which he devotedly loved. He might get into disputes with his burgesses, scold them roundly, and turn them out of doors ; but his honesty and disinterested zeal were so conspicuous that most people loved and admired him. Under his administration Virginia prospered as never before. Perhaps one of the most picturesque incidents of his time was

his expedition across the Blue Ridge into the Shenandoah valley in 1716, a reconnaissance which was partly prompted by the knowledge that French pioneers had begun to occupy posts in the Mississippi valley. After Spotswood's removal from the lieutenant-governorship he was appointed postmaster-general of the English colonies, being the first person who held that office, which he continued to hold until 1738. The second Scotchman who calls for mention is William Gooch, who filled the office of lieutenant-governor most acceptably from 1727 to 1749; and he was succeeded by Robert Dinwiddie, who is forever memorable as the governor who first started George Washington upon his public career. To Dinwiddie we shall by and by return when we come to treat of the fourth and final war with France. For the present, we must turn our attention to Maryland and note what was going on there between the days of Charles II. and those of George II.



FIG. 156.—Cecilius Calvert. (After an engraving by Abraham Blotting. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

There can be no doubt that Cecilius (Fig. 156), the second Lord Baltimore, was a man of broad intelligence and consummate tact; but with all his ability it required rare good fortune to enable him to weather the storms of the Commonwealth and Restoration. We saw in an earlier chapter how William Stone, the governor whom he had appointed, was overturned by the Puritans. He might easily have lost his proprietorship but for the support of Oliver Cromwell. It happened that

Oliver, as sovereign of England under the title of Lord Protector, considered himself legally the successor of Charles I., and therefore bound by such engagements as the one which that monarch had made with the Calverts. Oliver therefore directed that nobody should interfere with Lord Baltimore's domain, and this command sufficed to keep the Puritans in Maryland and their allies in Virginia quiet. But after the death of Oliver and the resignation of his son Richard, the authority of Cecilus was once more shaken in Maryland. He had appointed one Josias Fendall to the governorship, and in 1659 this person, in concert with certain Puritans in the House of Burgesses, undertook to throw off Baltimore's authority. The council was virtually abolished, while Fendall threw up his commission received from Lord Baltimore and accepted a new one from the House of Burgesses. This movement was mainly inspired by the Puritans, who could not endure the thought of submitting to a Catholic ruler and tolerating Catholic forms of worship. They hoped that Puritanism would keep control of the English government; but even if it should not, even if Charles II. should come to the throne, they believed that he would turn a cold shoulder to Lord Baltimore because Oliver had sustained him. But in this they were disappointed. The Calverts had been favorites of Charles' father and grandfather, while he himself was a Romanist at heart and detested Puritans; consequently he supported Cecilus, and forthwith Fendall's rebellion vanished like a bubble. Nevertheless, the opposition to the proprietary government was not entirely quieted. The circumstances were such that opposition was inevitable. Of the population of Maryland, some eight or nine per cent. were Catholics, sixteen per cent. were Episcopalians, and seventy-five per cent. were Puritan Congregationalists. Among the latter a considerable number of irreconcilables were always to be found, whose conversation was rife with allusions to Babylon and the scarlet woman. This opposition was enhanced by the fact that most of the high offices commanding the best salaries were monopolized by members of the Calvert family or other families closely connected with them by marriage. Thus they maintained a permanent majority in the council; and between this council and the House of Burgesses, with its Puritan majority, there was almost incessant conflict. It was a dispute between aristocratic and democratic principles, and also between uncompromising Puritanism and the secularized Catholicism represented by the Calverts. Sometimes the constitutional principles at issue between the two houses gave rise to interesting and instructive debates. For fourteen years after the restoration of Charles II. the immediate gov-

ernment of Maryland was in the hands of Charles Calvert, son of Cecilus. Upon the death of the latter, in 1675, his son Charles became the third Lord Baltimore; so that for the first time the people of Maryland had their supreme ruler living with them and not in England. There is no doubt that the proprietary government thenceforth declined in popularity. Charles was a less intelligent man than his father; and while entirely upright and honorable, he was a firm stickler for high prerogative, and seems on more than one occasion to have learned a bad lesson from his neighbor Berkeley. Thus in 1669 he succeeded in passing a law restricting the suffrage by a property qualification. Moreover, having obtained an assembly which was much to his mind through the exclusion of sundry members, he resorted to the Berkeleyan device of adjourning it from year to year, instead of issuing writs for a new election. It is therefore interesting to observe that in August, 1676, when Bacon's rebellion was at the high-water mark of success, a similar rebellion was started in Maryland by two gentlemen named Davis and Pate. But the collapse of this little rebellion followed closely in the wake of that of the greater; Davis and Pate were hanged, and there the matter ended.

The events of the last years of Charles II. and the scandalous reign of his brother aroused a fierce anti-Catholic sentiment throughout the American colonies, and the news of the landing of William of Orange in England was the signal for insurrection in Maryland, even as it was in Massachusetts. It happened that Lord Baltimore was in London. Common prudence dictated that he should instruct his council to proclaim William and Mary; and he sent a messenger for that purpose, who died on the voyage. So it happened that the council, while awaiting instructions, knew not just how to act. Thereupon the people grew impatient, and a Protestant association was formed under the lead of John Coode, who was aided by Kenelm Cheseldyn, speaker of the House, and Henry Jowles, colonel of the provincial troops. In July, 1689, Coode, at the head of 700 troops, besieged and captured the council; while a petition was sent to William and Mary, asking them to take over the government of Maryland. This was quite suitable to the views of the sovereigns. A writ in chancery annulled the Baltimore charter, and so Maryland became a royal province. Sir Lionel Copley, who came in 1691, was the first royal governor; but he was soon succeeded in 1694 by Francis Nicholson, transferred hither from Virginia. As Nicholson had changed one capital, so now he proceeded to change another. The seat of government for Maryland was trans-

PLATE XVI.



King James II.

ferred from the Catholic town of Saint Mary's, the headquarters of the old palatinate, to the Puritan town of Providence on the Severn ; while that Puritan name was exchanged for Annapolis in compliment to the Princess Anne, heiress presumptive to the crown. And as Nicholson had assisted at the founding of a college at Williamsburg, so now he set up a school in Annapolis, which he called the King William school.



FIG. 157. William III. (From an engraving by Werf, after a painting by B. Picart.)

This removal of the capital was intended as a blow to the Catholics and all other friends of the old proprietary government. But the Puritans, who had welcomed the change, soon found they had gained little by it. The Church of England was now established by law for the benefit of one-sixth of the community, and the Puritans, who numbered three-fourths, were roundly taxed for its support. The griev-

ances of the Puritans, however, were as nothing when compared with the systematic persecution to which the Catholics were subjected. Romanists were forbidden to purchase real estate or to maintain schools or to attend mass. The penalty visited upon a priest for performing religious services was imprisonment for life, and large rewards were offered to informers. In practice, however, it proved impossible to enforce these savage statutes against persons of so much influence in the community as the leading Catholics were. It soon became necessary to grant them permission to hold religious services at their own homes, and from this privilege there grew up the practice of building private chapels, which were really churches in everything but name.

So things went on till 1715, when the proprietary government was suddenly revived. Charles Calvert died, and his son Benedict became fourth Lord Baltimore. This young prince loved his palatinate better than his faith, and lost no time in becoming a member of the Church of England. Thereupon the grant from Charles I. to George Calvert was instantly revived in favor of his great-grandson; and for two generations more, down to the year 1776, Maryland was governed by these hereditary princes. Benedict was succeeded by his son Charles, and he in turn by Frederick, the sixth and last of the family. With the exception of this last one, they were an excellent set of men. Cecilius rose to the point of greatness; the others were men of ability and integrity, all save this wretched Frederick, who was simply a loathsome debauchee. As he spent his evil days in Europe, the colony was not much annoyed by him, and the governors whom he sent out were able and popular men; especially, perhaps, the last one, Sir Robert Eden, whose rule was so popular that many were unwilling to see it brought to an end by the Declaration of Independence.

The history of the revived palatinate from 1715 to 1776 is far less picturesque, as well as less richly suggestive, than the period which preceded the revolution of 1689. When the lord proprietor had become an Episcopalian, backed by all the authority of the home government, his situation was far less interesting than that of the Catholic prince steering his perilous course between a succession of shifting governments in England and a hostile majority of fanatical Puritans at his door. The career of Maryland during its first sixty years abounds in instructive lessons for the student of history.

CHAPTER X.

NEW NETHERLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA.

IN the sixteenth century the Netherlands were among the richest and most powerful of civilized nations. Their geographical position was the crossing-place of two great lines of trade, the lines connecting Northern Europe with Italy and the Orient, and those connecting France with Germany and the northeast. At the same time, their territory had long been politically a kind of neutral ground, where the authority of the French king on the one hand, and the German emperor on the other, practically terminated. Thriving cities grew up in the Netherlands at an early date; and by the time of which we are speaking urban life was more highly developed there than anywhere else north of Italy. Dutch and Flemish merchants had probably more capital to invest in enterprises than those of any other country. As regards political freedom, they were in some respects nearly abreast of England; while with regard to tolerance in matters of religion they far surpassed all other people. In the days of Queen Elizabeth the population of the Netherlands was about equivalent to that of England—that is to say, about five million, or less than the present population of the State of New York. In wealth the Dutch were somewhat superior to their English cousins, and they could likewise boast a decided superiority in the fine arts and in the elegancies and refinements of social life; while, on the other hand, the English immeasurably surpassed them in literary achievement, although not in scholarship. Among all the peoples of the world who lived under distinct governments, the racial kinship between the people of England and those of the Netherlands was the closest. On the whole, the Dutch and Flemings were more nearly related to the English than the Scotch were, and the fact of this kinship was felt by both countries. After the murder of William the Silent in 1584, the Dutch invited Queen Elizabeth to become their sovereign; and to the Englishmen of that day such a step seemed far more natural than the accession of a Scottish prince to the throne of England. For, while Scotland had for many generations been England's bitter enemy, on the other hand, friendship with the

Low Countries had been England's traditional policy. The two countries were commercially dependent upon one another. It was primarily wool that connected them, since England grew the best sheep in the world, while the Dutch and Flemish artisans excelled all others in weaving. The more cloth made in Flanders, the better the markets for the English sheep-farmer. And these commercial bonds extended through many other departments of exchange.

In view of this close relationship between Dutch and English it is interesting to observe that both countries began to pursue an imperial policy involving control of the sea as part of the great struggle in which both were involved against Spain at one of the most critical moments in modern history. We have already had occasion to mention how the English were led to attack Spain and weaken her resources by cutting off her supplies of precious metals from Mexico and Peru. The Dutch were led to a similar policy, but circumstances turned their main energies into a different field. In 1580 Philip II. of Spain seized the crown of Portugal, and the great commercial empire which the latter power had built up in the East Indies since the voyage of Vasco da Gama now passed under the sway of Spain. Thus the papal meridian was virtually wiped out, and at the same time the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean were thrown open to attacks from the Dutch. The result of all this was that the greater part of Portugal's Indian empire passed into the hands of the Netherlands. A vast commerce arose, with Java for its eastern centre and the Cape of Good Hope for its half-way station. Thus the ancestors of the Boers began to find homes in South Africa, while at the same time our forefathers learned from the Dutch to drink tea and coffee instead of the humming ale which used to grace the Elizabethan breakfast-table.

At a later date we find the English also entering the Indian Ocean and competing there with the Dutch, building up by slow degrees a still greater and richer empire. But in the seventeenth century, when the policy of Sir Walter Raleigh had so strongly attracted English attention to the coast of North America, the Dutch were so absorbed in their Oriental policy that they had comparatively little surplus energy left for competing with the English upon this side of the Atlantic. They seized the coast of Brazil and held it for a few years; they established themselves permanently in Guiana and upon several of the smaller Antilles; and upon the coast of North America they left an everlasting mark by founding a city which has come to be second only to London among the cities of the world.

We have seen in an earlier chapter how the harbor of New York was entered by Verrazano while sailing in the service of France in 1524. We also had occasion to mention Allefonsee's report of French trading-stations upon Manhattan Island and near the site of Albany. It was afterward recognized by sundry leading Dutchmen that the French had been upon the Hudson River before them ; but the attention of France had been drawn away from these enterprises, probably because of her absorption in the wars of the League. When France renewed the work of discovery, her energy was at first concentrated upon the river St. Lawrence and its neighboring coasts, so that the Hudson River was left open for the Dutch. That noble stream was already known to Europeans by many names. Gomez had called it the river of St. Anthony, and there are strong reasons for believing it to have been that which Allefonsee called the river of Norumbega ; but the name by which it was best known was the Grand River. In later days the Dutch rechristened it Mauritius, after their stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Orange, while they commonly called it North River, in contrast with the great South River, known to us as the Delaware. But of all its names, that which mostly clings to it is that of the great English navigator who visited it almost accidentally while employed in the Dutch service.

Henry Hudson belonged to a London family of merchant adventurers and navigators. He seems to have been brought up in the service of the Muscovy Company, a corporation founded in the reign of Edward VI. for the purpose of developing trade with Russia and searching for a northeastern passage to China. Having been made famous by two Arctic voyages, Hudson was employed by the Dutch East India Company to search for a northeast passage by way of Nova Zembla, and in 1609 he sailed in one small ship, the *Half Moon*, with this object in view. On approaching Nova Zembla, he was baffled by the ice ; but, unwilling to return to his employers without pointing to some valuable achievement, he decided to cross the Atlantic and look for some passage into the fabled Sea of Verrazano. In the course of this quest he entered the harbor of New York and proceeded up the stream, which he called River of the Mountains. After ascending it as far as the site of Troy, he lost all hope of finding it a strait through which he might enter the Verrazano Sea ; so he set sail for Holland, but, touching at an English port, he was arrested and detained there. The next year we find him in command of an English expedition exploring that great inland sea since known as Hudson's Bay. On that

waste of waters his mutinous crew turned him adrift in an open boat, and he was never heard of more.

For some years little or nothing came of Hudson's visit to the Grand River save that the attention of Dutch skippers was called to the valuable furs which might be obtained there from the Indians at a small cost of European tools and trinkets. As early as 1614 Manhattan Island was a resort for Dutch fur-traders. But nothing permanent was accomplished until the incorporation of the Dutch West India Company in 1623. During the interval some good work was done in exploring the adjacent coasts by those worthy navigators, Adrian Block, whose name is left upon a small island near Narragansett Bay, and Cornelius May, who is commemorated in one of the capes which sentinel the entrance to the Delaware.

It was in 1626 that formal possession was taken of Manhattan Island, when Peter Minuit bought it of its tawny occupants for a parcel of beads, knives, blankets, and other such gear, about equivalent in value to \$125.00 in our modern currency. Settlements were made almost simultaneously upon the southern end of Manhattan Island, upon Long Island, and far up the river on the site of Albany, while a fort was built on the lower Delaware, and another was begun hard by the site of Hartford on the Connecticut River. At first the Dutch were inclined to main aim that their New Netherland extended as far as Cape Cod, and Minuit had some correspondence on this subject with Governor Bradford, of Plymouth; but after the arrival of the Puritan host in 1630 and the years following, little more was heard of this claim. The Dutch, however, never withdrew their claim to the lands west of the Connecticut; while on the other hand, from the very start, the English government occasionally uttered protests in which they asserted English sovereignty over the whole coast from New England to Virginia. The general state of things in Europe, however, and the friendliness between the English and Dutch governments prevented any serious disturbance for nearly forty years.

Circumstances were such that English settlers poured into North America at a much more rapid rate than Dutch. There was in Holland no cause of emigration at all comparable in potency with that which was furnished in England by the strife between king and parliament, coupled with the contest between prelacy and Puritanism. It therefore happened that, while Englishmen were coming over by the thousand and founding states on Massachusetts and Narragansett Bays, on the Connecticut River, and along the shores of Long Island Sound, the Dutch

settlers in New Netherland were hardly numerous enough to maintain themselves in their few stations on the Hudson and Delaware rivers. A large proportion of those who came at first were merely fur-traders bent upon acquiring wealth and returning to Holland. The idea of moving to America with one's family and making a new home in this wilderness was one which occurred to comparatively few minds. In 1629 an effort was made by the Dutch government to attract agricultural settlers to New Netherland and build up landed estates there. A charter was accordingly issued, often known as "The Charter of Privileges and Exemptions." This instrument created the class of patroons. Any settler who should bring with him fifty farmers should have a grant of land extending sixteen miles along one bank of the Hudson River, or eight miles on each of two opposite banks, and reaching back indefinitely into the wilderness. The settlers brought by the patroon were to occupy and cultivate their portions of this land as his tenants, and their rights and duties were adjusted by sundry specific provisions. The patroon was virtually a lord of the manor, and exercised jurisdiction as such in manorial courts which were not altogether unlike the English court leet. One effect of this charter was to bring a certain number of able and enterprising men to New Netherland, among whom may be mentioned David Pietersen DeVries, Michael Pauw, and Kilian Van Rensselaer. The scheme for an extensive system of rural estates was, however, slow in coming to maturity. One disadvantage under which it labored was the fact that the patroons felt more interest in skins of otter and beaver than in acres of wheat or maize, and this soon led to disputes between the patroons and the West India Company. For the company by its charter was to enjoy a monopoly of the fur-trade, and peltries bought from the Mohawks and carried down to Manhattan could only pass through the hands of the company's salaried agents. After a sufficient number of skins had been reserved for the salaries and perquisites of these officials, the residue were shipped to Holland to be sold for the company's benefit. It was therefore illegal for any person to trade in peltries for his own personal behoof. Nothing, however, could stop the patroons from engaging in this illicit trade. At the same time the sale of fire-arms and ammunition to the red men was forbidden under heavy penalties; but this trade also went on briskly in spite of all attempts to stop it. The Dutchmen were determined to get furs, and the Mohawks were determined to get the weapons of thunder, and neither threats nor penalties could prevent the one object of desire from being exchanged for the other. In this way the worthy fur-traders built up

a power which was presently to serve as a most important protection both for themselves and for their successors, the English. In a previous chapter we had occasion to mention the alliance between Champlain and the Algonquin tribes of the St. Lawrence, and his defeat of the Mohawks at Ticonderoga in 1609. The confederacy of the Long House, of which the Mohawks were the easternmost tribe, was already the most formidable body of Indians east of the Mississippi River. It owed this primacy partly to its superior organization and partly to the military advantages of its position between the Atlantic Ocean and the Great Lakes, commanding all the principal northwestern and southwestern trails. When to these advantages the possession of fire-arms was added, the confederacy soon entered upon a career of conquest unparalleled so far as we know in Indian experience. Their hatred of the French made them friendly with Dutch and English, so that for more than a century they were a most efficient bulwark for the province of New York, while they also guaranteed the immunity of Pennsylvania from Indian attack.

The government of New Netherland was simply a despotism. Except for the privileges and exemptions of the patroons, there was nothing that could be called a constitution. Customary Dutch law was administered without any glaring instances of injustice or oppression; but the supreme power in all matters—legislative, executive, and judicial—was in the hands of the director-general, who was appointed by the governor to serve during good behavior. If this official proved too despotic, the only remedy was to make complaint to the company, or perhaps to the States-General, and get him superseded. The director-general appointed to carry into operation the charter of 1629 was one of the West India Company's clerks from Amsterdam, a commonplace kind of man named Walter Van Twiller. He has been immortalized by Washington Irving in the grotesque figure of Walter the Doubter. He seems to have been appointed because he was a family connection of Kilian Van Rensselaer. After a while he became involved in the quarrels between the company and the patroons and was recalled to Holland.

In 1637 the company entered upon a new policy, making small grants of land in fee simple to agricultural settlers and removing to a great extent the restrictions upon trade. The results were favorable to the growth of the colony. The new director-general, whose name was William Kieft, was a very different person from his predecessor; a man of some ability, but narrow-minded, tyrannical, and self-seeking. At the time of his appointment he labored under some imputations of dishonesty in pecuniary matters. His management of the affairs of New

Netherland was not such as to improve his reputation. His career was the typical career of the tyrant in miniature. He was, on a small scale, that which Charles I. tried to be in England. The incidents of his administration may for the most part be grouped under two heads: 1. Disputes about taxation; 2. Wars with the Indians of the neighborhood.

Taxes arbitrarily imposed called forth so much resistance in the little town of New Amsterdam upon Manhattan Island that Kieft was more than once prevailed upon to summon a small board of advisers similar to those which in the Middle Ages took part in the government of small Dutch towns. This board might consist of from half a dozen to a dozen members. Thus one of Kieft's boards was commonly known as the Eight Men; another was familiarly called the Twelve Men. Their sessions were apt to be stormy, since Kieft expected them all to agree with him and would not brook the smallest word of opposition. Like many other advisory boards in history, these honest citizens were unwilling to assent to the expenditure of public money unless it could be coupled with some distinctly visible improvement or reform; and Kieft's method of dealing with such questions was the traditional one of despots, and in particular bore a marked resemblance to that of his unfortunate contemporary, the King of England. He would promise to do what was demanded, and then dismiss his advisers and go on just as before, quite forgetful of his word.

As for the terrible Indian war of 1645, it was brought on by a series of criminal blunders on the part of this petty autocrat. It should be borne in mind that all the tribes in the immediate neighborhood of New Amsterdam were Algonquins. There were a great number of small tribes, some of whose names still remain upon the map with a geographical meaning. There were the Haverstraws, the Raritans, the Hackensacks, the Sing Sings, and those unpronounceables, the Weekquaesgeeks of Yonkers and the Marechkawieeks of Long Island. Besides these, there was a powerful tribe occupying the mountainous country north of Stamford and probably related to the Mohegans. The other small tribes seem to have resulted from the disintegration of the great Lenape confederacy, of which the members best known to us were the Delawares. They were all obliged to pay tribute to the Long House. Every year a deputation of Iroquois chiefs, usually Mohawks, came down the river and extorted weapons and wampum at their own sweet will, behaving with insufferable arrogance and often committing atrocities like those with which Turkish tax-gatherers in Christian provinces are wont

to vary the monotony of life. The alliance between the Dutch and the Iroquois was in itself a good reason for the Algonquins feeling suspicious of the Dutch. The well-known fact that the white men supplied the Long House with fire-arms must have been a maddening thought to these overawed and browbeaten tributaries. It was seldom that one of them could buy muskets and powder, for under the eyes of the director-general the law could be enforced. What could be done at the upper end of the river could not so easily happen at its mouth. Nevertheless, the Algonquin tribes were by no means inclined to molest the Dutch. They well understood that by doing so they were liable to draw down upon themselves the vengeance of both Mynheer and Mohawk; and of the former, no less than the latter, they entertained a most wholesome dread.



FIG. 158.—David Pietersen De Vries.

Nothing short of infatuated imbecility on the part of Kieft could have goaded them to hostilities. Had New Netherland had the good fortune to be governed by such a man as De Vries (Fig. 158), its annals might have remained as free from the red terror as those of Pennsylvania during its first seventy years. The methods of De Vries were as upright and honorable as those of William Penn, but the waspish little director-general was cast in a different mould. His first piece of imprudence was to impose a tax upon his Indian neighbors. He deemed it necessary to repair Fort Amsterdam on the site of the present Battery, and to

make other preparations for the defence of his little city ; and the expense of such work he assessed upon the entire neighborhood, red man as well as white. For the wampum of the red men passed current among the white settlers and was highly valued by them, since it was a magnet which could draw beaver-skins from the forests of the interior. But when the white men demanded wampum of the Algonquins, in what respect could they be held to differ from the Mohawk oppressors ? We do not hear that the Indians paid much wampum, but it is certain that they held powwows in which their injured feelings found vent in significant grunts.

At last, matters were brought to a crisis by what the Indians would have called an act of justice on their part. Some twenty years before, an Indian from Yonkers had been shamefully robbed and murdered somewhere near the present City Hall Park. A little boy of his clan who witnessed the scene vowed revenge and nursed his deadly purpose during all these years. According to Indian notions, the account must be balanced by killing some white man. It made little difference who it might be ; the amount of loss suffered by one community must be balanced by an equivalent loss inflicted on the other. In 1643, the long-coveted opportunity offered itself at a lonely country house near the East River, where the young Indian beat out the brains of its owner and promptly fled some miles up the Hudson. Kieft soon ascertained the name of the sachem with whom the murderer had taken refuge, and demanded that he should be given up to justice ; but the Indian chief returned evasive answers and continued to shelter the fugitive. There was now so much bad blood on both sides that a few other murders occurred and were promptly avenged. Just at this moment, a party of Mohawk tribute-gatherers came down the river, and nearly a thousand Algonquins fled before them in terror and came trooping down upon Manhattan Island and the opposite Jersey shore. A situation was thus offered which a statesman-like governor might have turned to the advantage of the white men. Had he chosen to call off his Mohawk allies, he had quite enough influence with them to do so ; and by thus relieving the panic-stricken Algonquins, he might have established a claim upon their goodwill. On some such principle, we may suppose that the humane and gallant DeVries would have acted. The conduct of Kieft was that of a coward and madman. He decided to overawe the Indians by a heavy blow ; so he attacked a large party of them encamped at Pavonia, and massacred half their number in cold blood. Another party at Corlear's Hook on the East River were

similarly treated, and a few days later a wanton attack was made upon a friendly tribe on Long Island. It was a gross miscalculation to suppose that such blows could overawe the Indians. The immediate result was that all the Algonquin tribes in the neighborhood sprang to arms, and a desultory war ensued which lasted for nearly two years, and more than once threatened to wipe the little Dutch colony out of existence. At length the situation was repaired by a man who knew how to deal blows that were really staggering. The blundering of Kieft had brought things to such a pass that humane measures were no longer available. The right man for the moment was found in that John Underhill who eight years before had taken part in the annihilation of the Pequots. Since that time, he had come to live in New Netherland, and now he proceeded to repeat his old exploit. The destruction of the great walled village near Stamford was an even greater feat than the much-talked-of extermination of the Pequots. The military problem was more difficult, but Underhill solved it with the same ruthless thoroughness. With a force of about 150 Dutchmen and Englishmen, he captured the village and slew all but eight of its 700 defenders, losing in the fight less than a score of his own men. The effect of this tremendous blow was really to overawe the Indians, and it was not long before all the warring tribes sued for peace. The net result of the war was as usual. The white settlements had suffered severely, many farms had been destroyed, and almost every family was in mourning. But in return, the injury inflicted upon the Indians was very much greater. In death-dealing power, the white man was immeasurably superior.

The end of this war found Kieft extremely unpopular. People were not blind to his mismanagement, and complaints against him were sent home to the company. The stalwart parson, Dominic Bogardus, thundered at him from the pulpit, and finally it was decided in Amsterdam that a new governor had better be appointed for the New Netherland colony. In view of the recent war, it was decided that a trained soldier was desirable for the post; and the choice fell upon Peter Stuyvesant (Fig. 159), who had for some time been governor of Curaçoa. This man is one of the most picturesque figures in early American history. He was the son of a clergyman, and remarkably well educated for a man who spent so much of his time in camps. In the Thirty Years' War he had lost a leg, and for the rest of his life wore a wooden stump in place of it; so that the name by which he was familiarly known to his Mohawk allies was "Old Wooden Leg." His Dutch friends, however, were in the habit of calling him "Hard-headed Peter"; while that

worthy chronicler, Diedrich Knickerbocker, whose gentle humor so happily hits the characteristics of these old-time magnates, dubs him "Peter the Headstrong." As an autocrat, he was not less peremptory and unyielding than Kieft; but he had much more intelligence than his predecessor, and was, moreover, absolutely honest and disinterested.



A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. B. Dunsen". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

FIG. 159.—Peter Stuyvesant. (From "Memorial History of New York.")

Naturally, therefore, we find that while Kieft was generally execrated, Stuyvesant was held in respect. He might storm at the people, who in turn would call him "Czar" and "Muscovy Wolf" and other choice epithets; but, having relieved their feelings, they were free to admit that hard-headed Peter had their interests at heart.

When Stuyvesant arrived in New Amsterdam, he found everything in hot water, as usual. Not only were the director-general and the dominie ready to fly at each other's throats; but two members of the board of advisers, named Kuyter and Melyn, were preparing to go to Holland with elaborate complaints against the retiring director. In this affair, Stuyvesant espoused the cause of his predecessor against the people; and he endeavored by threats to prevent the sending of any message to Holland, but in this he was unsuccessful. The same ship in which Kieft embarked for the fatherland carried in it also Bogardus, with Kuyter and Melyn; not a very harmonious company, one would think, for a long voyage. On the English coast, the ship was wrecked; and by a curious Providence, Kieft and Bogardus were both drowned, while Kuyter and Melyn were not only saved, but succeeded in fishing up their documents, so that they were enabled to carry their tale of woe to the West India Company at Amsterdam and to the States-General at The Hague. The result, after some time, was the return of Melyn to New Netherland with instructions which served to put something of a curb upon the overbearing zeal of the new director-general.

During the rule of Stuyvesant, the colony began to grow at a more rapid rate than formerly. By the end of his administration in 1664, the total population had reached 10,000, of whom about 1500 dwelt upon Manhattan Island; and a most interesting circumstance was the fact that among these 1500 persons not less than fifteen or eighteen languages were spoken. The little town, scarcely more than a village, whose northern boundary was defended by the wooden palisade which has left its name upon Wall Street, had thus already acquired something of the cosmopolitan character which has ever since distinguished it. It has been said of modern New York that it is more Irish than Dublin, and more German than Berlin, while it is one of the first Jewish cities in the world. Its easy cosmopolitanism, its hospitable tolerance of all shades of thinking and all manner of living, is one of its most noticeable, as it is one of its most charming features, and this it owes unquestionably to its Dutch origin. In particular, the Dutch principle of complete tolerance in matters of religion had much to do with this. By Stuyvesant's time, it had become generally recognized in Europe that New Netherland was a country where one might not only earn a comfortable living, but be quite secure from molestation on the score of religion. These and other merits of the country became widely known through the publication in 1655 of a little book called "A Description of New Netherland," by Adrian van der Donck, one of the most learned

men that the new colony had seen up to that time. This Van der Donck, by the way, was commonly known at Manhattan as the "Yonkher," or "Young Lord," and his great estate, which he purchased from the Weckquaesgeeks, retains to this day the name of Yonkers.

As a result of Holland's liberal policy, we find that in 1660 New Amsterdam contained not only Dutch and English Calvinists, but Lutherans from Germany, Catholic Walloons from Flanders, Waldenses from the Palatinate, Jews and Moravians, besides Huguenots from France in increasing numbers. The three principal languages were Dutch, English, and French. So many English had come in that it



FIG. 160.—The wall at New Amsterdam. ("Magazine of American History," vol. x.)

was already necessary to have two secretaries of state—one for the Dutch, the other for the English; and it is worthy of note that this influx of English was partially due to the intolerant policy of the New England colonies, especially Massachusetts and New Haven, where life was apt to be made uncomfortable for all except the elect. It would be unfair, however, to overlook the fact that even New Netherland afforded a few instances of gross persecution. These were due to the zealous and vehement temper of Stuyvesant rather than to any policy. Indeed, they were not approved by public sentiment, and they were roundly condemned by the Company at Amsterdam. The most conspicuous

instance of persecution was that of the Quakers, who came to Manhattan Island about the same time as to Boston. The rough and cruel treatment inflicted upon Quakers by Stuyvesant was in spirit quite like the treatment they received in New England; but various town magistrates protested against it, and words of grave rebuke came from Holland, so that the director-general was obliged to restrain his zeal.

Among the principal incidents of this period were, 1, the attempt of the Van Rensselaers to set up an independent feudal jurisdiction; 2, a series of brief Indian wars; 3, troubles with Swedes on the Delaware; 4, troubles with the English, resulting in their capture of Manhattan Island and all that thereunto appertained. We have already spoken of Kilian van Rensselaer as one of the earliest patroons. His estates, hard by the confines of the Mohawk country, were indeed lordly. He had land enough for several counties. On the site of the city of Albany stood a blockhouse named Fort Orange, and close by it the hamlet of Beverwyck, so called from the rich beaver-skins which were its principal article of trade. The place was important from its vicinity to the Mohawks. In keeping the friendship of these dusky allies, a great deal depended upon the diplomatic qualifications of the men who were in command at Beverwyck and Fort Orange. Doubtless the lord of the Rensselaers thought that in such an advanced frontier position he was properly entitled to palatine rights, as would have been the case in mediæval Europe. At all events, he paid little heed to the director-general's edicts and proclamations, except when it suited his own convenience. At one time, he went so far as to fortify a small island on the Hudson and claim toll as well as homage from every vessel that passed. Any rash schooner that sailed by without lowering its flag to the lordship of Rensselaerwyck was liable to get a bullet-hole in one of its topsails. There was also the old grievance of selling fire-arms to the Indians. On these points, Stuyvesant had many amusing disputes with the officers at Beverwyck; but he was fully sustained by the authorities at Amsterdam, and so carried his point.

Once more, after ten years of peace, an Indian war broke out through the stupid cruelty of a white man, a well-to-do burgher who shot a poor squaw as she was stealing peaches in his orchard. The report of this deed brought nearly 2000 Indians down upon the little city, where they comported themselves better than could have been expected, but did not depart until they had slain the offending burgher in his own doorway and sent into the next world several of his neighbors to keep him company. These incidents were the prelude to a

series of brief spasmodic outbreaks of hostility at various points along the river, as far up as Esopus. Finally, they were all quelled by Stuyvesant's firmness and tact.

The Swedish colony on the Delaware originated in a project of Gustavus Adolphus, which was perhaps suggested to him by a Fleming of great ability, named William Usselinex. This man was one of a numerous company of Antwerp merchants, who, after the capture of their city by Parma, had migrated to Amsterdam. He was one of the first projectors of the Dutch West India Company, and he seems to have entertained the idea which had formerly passed from Coligny to Raleigh, of founding a Protestant state in the New World; for there were two ways in which Protestantism might relieve itself from the pressure brought to bear upon it by the Counter-Reformation. On the one hand, individuals and families might escape molestation by crossing the Atlantic to some hospitable community like New Netherland; on the other hand, a united body of believers might come and found a colony which should presently develop into a Protestant power. The latter was certainly the idea which inspired the founders of Massachusetts. A similar purpose seems to have been at work in the settlement of New Sweden, although it was conducted on a far smaller scale and its career was cut short before it had time to exhibit well-marked characteristics. After the death of the great Gustavus, his project was warmly espoused by Queen Christina and her chancellor Oxenstiern. In 1639, settlements were made on the western bank of the Delaware River by parties of Swedes and Finns under the leadership of Peter Minuit, the same who had once been director-general of New Netherland, but had since passed into the Swedish service. The duration of this colony was just seventeen years. Many interesting particulars about it have been preserved for us by the Swedish historian Campanius, and it was once visited by our old friend DeVries, whose narrative is in this place as charming as usual. The inhabitants were mostly industrious and self-respecting farmers. The mode of life was primitive, but generous; and DeVries, who appreciated a good glass of wine and a chat, tells us of his pleasant evenings with the sociable and courtly governor, John Printz, a man of substance, for he weighed 400 pounds.

But this little colony was environed with hostility. The settlements west of the river were undeniably an encroachment upon Lord Baltimore's territory, while the Dutch claimed the whole eastern shore and were in no mood to pay toll for the privilege of navigating that stream. On this question, difficulties arose; but no decisive action was taken

until 1655, when Stuyvesant appeared on the scene at the head of such a force that the Swedish governor deemed discretion the better part of valor. The affair ended in the surrender of sovereignty over the whole of New Sweden to the Dutch. And it is pleasant to add that the settlers received no harsh treatment, but were hospitably admitted into the citizenship of New Netherland.

That which happened to New Sweden was now about to happen to New Netherland itself. The period of Stuyvesant's administration was full of disputes with the adjacent colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, in the course of which it became more and more apparent that Stuyvesant was the weaker party, who, however he might bluster, was bound to accept the best terms he could get, with as much grace as he could muster. His claims were sturdily set forth and were sometimes backed up by bold deeds. Nothing could well have been more audacious or more amusing than the affair of the *San Beninio*, an English ship which had passed through the East River and on into New Haven harbor without having satisfied the claims of the Dutch custom-house. With rare skill and boldness, the Dutch skipper, Van der Grist, on a pleasant Sunday afternoon, boarded and took possession of her in the harbor, scarcely a stone's-throw from the meeting-house, and sailed off with her up the Sound before the very eyes of the astounded worshippers, who had rushed out to see what was the matter. But, in spite of such exhibitions of spirit, the Dutch were made to feel their weakness when it came to negotiation, as Stuyvesant found when he visited Hartford to discuss the question of boundary between New England and New Netherland. It was all very well for him to date his letters from Hartford in New Netherland; but when the treaty was signed, the boundary-line started from the Sound several miles west of Stamford, not far from its present location. When Stuyvesant's advisory board scolded him roundly for such a concession, the poor man could only scold back again and aver that he had done the best he could. He knew well that either the Connecticut colony or that of New Haven, taken singly, was more than a match for him; while in the background stood Massachusetts and Plymouth, who were bound to defend their confederates in case of attack. What could 10,000 New Netherlanders accomplish against 50,000 New Englanders?

Moreover, the English element in the New Netherland towns was becoming a source of disturbance. For a long time, the people had been contrasting their condition unfavorably with that of their neighbors. The New England colonies all chose their own governors and

legislative assemblies, enacted their own laws, and paid very little heed to the home government in England. The men of New Netherland, on the other hand, were governed by the arbitrary will of a man appointed from Amsterdam and responsible to a commercial company rather than to the people whom he governed. More than once the Nine Men, as Stuyvesant's advisers were called, petitioned the States-General for a representative government. Instead of granting this petition, the States-General allowed New Amsterdam to be incorporated as a city to be governed by burgomasters, schepens, and schouts, like the cities of Holland. It was supposed that the power of the director-general would be to some extent limited by that of this municipal government, and perhaps it may have had that effect to a limited extent on some occasions; but as long as representative government was not granted, there was chronic agitation, and, among the English citizens, more or less disaffection. It was thus becoming evident that the New Netherland apple was ready to fall from its tree at the slightest shake.

Now it happened that after 1651 the relations between England and the Netherlands, which had for centuries been very friendly, began to assume a new complexion. Commercial rivalry began to breed distrust and dislike among the two foremost maritime powers in the world. The Navigation Act of 1651, which was to breed so much trouble in the American colonies, was chiefly aimed at the Dutch. Along with more general purposes, one of its objects was to supplant the Dutch in the control of the Baltic trade, upon which England largely relied for its supplies of pine and spruce timber, pitch, and other materials for ship-building. At this crisis, there were enlightened thinkers who would have been glad to settle all such difficulties by bringing about a political union between England and Holland; and such a project certainly seemed more feasible than the beneficent union with Scotland which was brought about fifty years later. But at that fierce moment of transition, England had too many things to think of, and these hopeful dreams came to nothing. When the Navigation Act was renewed, soon after the restoration of the monarchy, the relations between England and Holland became very unfriendly.

The first overt act of hostility was committed by Charles II., and it was done after the familiar Stuart fashion. The English had never once admitted the right of the Dutch to sovereignty over New Netherland. They made no objection to Dutchmen going there, but insisted that on arriving there they were properly subject to English jurisdiction, not Dutch. On several occasions, the English government had uttered

THE TOWNE OF NEW-YORK

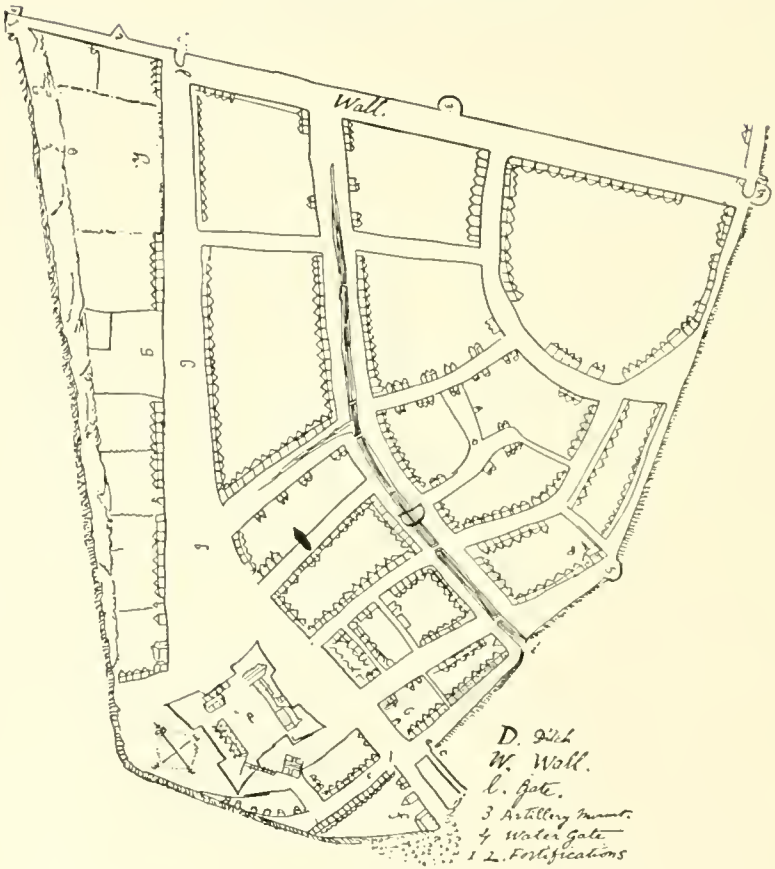


FIG. 161.—Map of New York, 1664. ("Magazine of American History," vol. ix.)

protests ; now for the first time it had its hands free to deal with the matter. Now, moreover, there was a special incentive to action, inasmuch as the presence of the Dutch at the mouth of the Hudson River contributed greatly to the difficulty of enforcing the Navigation Act in America.

For such reasons, Charles II. made up his mind that he must have New Netherland ; and from the Stuart point of view, the easiest and prettiest way of getting it was to seize it by stealth during a season of profound peace. This was in 1664. The king was fitting up a small squadron of frigates to escort to Boston four royal commissioners, who were to examine into the affairs of Massachusetts and rectify them so far as they found it possible. Great publicity was given to this matter ; and from all that was said and done, you would suppose that Charles had quite set his heart upon browbeating the Boston ministers and was blissfully oblivious of all America west of Charles River. Careful inquiry, no doubt, would have led one to ask the question whether a regiment of 500 soldiers was needed to enforce the views of the royal commissioners in the Puritan capital. Such a force had Colonel Richard Nicolls, the commander of the expedition, and he expected to swell it by New England levies to at least 1000. In this he was successful. He got little help from Massachusetts ; but Connecticut responded warmly to his call, and the governor of Connecticut accompanied him on the fleet. So, toward the end of the summer, when Nicolls suddenly left Boston, and a few days later came through the Narrows between Long and Staten Islands, the city of New Amsterdam was completely surprised. Resistance was not to be thought of ; any fighting would be useless slaughter. One of the most picturesque scenes in our history is that in which the wrathful Stuyvesant, stamping on the floor with his wooden leg, tore in pieces the letter of Nicolls which Governor Winthrop had placed in his hand. It was of no use. The fragments were pieced together by Nicholas Bayard and read to the people, and the gallant old governor, beset on every hand with arguments and tears, convinced at last of the uselessness of resistance, consented to raise the white flag.

It was not to be expected that any high-spirited nation would submit to such a scandalous act of aggression as this without straightway going to war, and so there followed the first great war between our English forefathers and their Dutch cousins. It was a meeting of Greek with Greek. The English Channel and the German Ocean witnessed some of the most obstinate fighting that has ever taken place on the water,

and for the first time in more than 600 years the city of London was threatened by a hostile fleet on the Thames. But in America the change was marked by profound quiet. Before sending out his expedition, the king had granted the whole of New Netherland to his brother, James Stuart, Duke of York and Albany, as his proprietary domain. Naturally, therefore, the name of the province was changed to New York; and while the city at the mouth of the river received the same name, the village of Beverwyck, with its citadel, Fort Orange, became known as Albany. Colonel Nicolls, as the duke's representative, assumed the governorship of the province, with his headquarters in the new government house at Whitehall, near the present site of the South Ferry. Stuyvesant's conduct was pronounced blameless by the States-General. After a brief visit to Holland, he returned to New York, and spent the remainder of his days in pleasant retirement on his farm or "Bowery," where Governor Nicolls often came to dine with him and seek his counsel. His mortal remains repose in St. Mark's church, near the spot where his manor-house formerly stood.

As for Nicolls, he won the love and admiration not only of Stuyvesant, but apparently of everybody with whom he came in contact, whether white men or red men. Thoroughly honest, upright, and brave, he was noticeable for a winning frankness and cordiality of manner. He was a man of refined tastes and scholarship, well versed in ancient classics, and speaking several modern languages with fluency and grace. New York long remembered the four years of his administration as a kind of golden age. It was not because they had acquired civil liberty, for the Duke of York was not yet ready to grant them that. The rule of Nicolls was as autocratic as that of Stuyvesant, so that his success must be ascribed largely to his lovable nature and boundless tact. He was an adept in the art of healing quarrels and making everybody feel well treated. The life of this noble young man, like that of so many gallant sons of England, was sacrificed in another wicked fratricidal war with the Dutch. In 1671, he was slain in a desperate sea-fight on the German Ocean. His successor in the government of New York was Francis Lovelace, a worthy man, whose rule is chiefly memorable for the establishment of the first regular intercolonial mail service. On New Year's Day, 1673, the mail-carrier started from the principal coffee-house in New York, on his horseback journey to Boston, which he reached in just one month. It seems a small beginning; yet it is not long after 1673 that we begin to notice evidences of increasing intercourse between New York and Boston.

That year witnessed a sudden shifting of the scenes. England was at war with the Netherlands; and Admiral Evertsen, with a mighty Dutch fleet, was cruising in the West Indies and presently appeared before New York. At once the city was surrendered. A Dutchman named Anthony Colve was appointed governor, the name of the city was changed to New Orange, and everything went on as before. Next year, the treaty of peace finally surrendered New Netherland into English hands. New Orange became once more New York, and an enterprising young officer, Major Edmund Andros, was sent out as governor.

In such a complicated story as that of the American colonies, where we have to choose sometimes between considerations of time and those of locality, it is not always possible to preserve a strict chronological sequence. We have already, in dealing with New England, given some account of the later career of Andros, and again we have occasion to mention him in Virginia. A few words concerning his earlier years will make his whole career consistent and intelligible. Andros came of a family which had for some generations been eminent on the little Channel island of Guernsey. Having been taken to London at an early age, he had been brought up at court and associated familiarly with the king and his brother. He had entered the army and attained at an earlier age than usual to the rank of major. He had a soldier's temperament. He was brave, energetic, and incorruptible. For political liberty, he cared not a penny. Indeed, he looked with contempt upon the theories of government advocated by Whigs and republicans. His theory of political duty was summed up in obeying his master's orders faithfully and to the letter. In such views, he seems to have been not unlike Richard Nicolls. But Andros was wanting in the genial tact which carried Nicolls successfully through every difficulty. Though Andros could be genial when so disposed, there seems to have been a saturnine side to him, so that in carrying out his orders he did not always care much who might be hurt. This accounts for the odium which he afterward incurred in New England when placed in a situation so odious that it would have taxed even the resources of a Nicolls to make it endurable. During his administration of New York affairs, he is seen in a much pleasanter light, and by his energy and fidelity he strongly commended himself to the favor of his master.

The most important events of the administration of Andros were: 1, the municipal improvements which he set on foot on Manhattan Island; 2, his altercations with Connecticut; and 3, his expedition to the Oneida country.

1. Whatever may have been his faults, it cannot be denied that Andros was a strenuous and tidy housekeeper. He introduced the rule that all garbage and rubbish must be set out on the sidewalk on a certain day in each week, for the city's carts to carry away. He bullied householders into mending their rickety steps and replacing the tiles that had fallen from their roofs. He cut down drunkards and idlers with a heavy hand. He dug wells at places convenient for fire-engines. He built new wharves; and, in particular, he banished from the city those ill-smelling tanneries, the precursors of that vast leather industry for which Manhattan Island has ever since been famous. This banishment from the city, however, must not be interpreted by the reader according to his modern notions of topography. It only carried the obnoxious tanneries to the neighborhood of Gold and Ann Streets, and thence to that remotely northern region, Beekman Swamp, not far east of City Hall, the upper border of what was long known as Shoemaker's Land.

2. As for Connecticut, or at least that principal portion of it which lay west of the Connecticut River, Andros wanted it, partly because he regarded it as falling within the limits of the duke's charter, partly because he felt the need of its resources in men and money. Since the annexation of New Haven, the colony of Connecticut was five or six times as populous as New York, and could raise a much larger revenue without oppressive taxation. As we shall see in the next chapter, the French in Canada were fast becoming dangerous neighbors, and the valley of the Hudson, a situation of prime military importance, was peculiarly exposed to their attacks. It was natural, therefore, that Andros should desire to more than quadruple his military strength by extending his boundary to the Connecticut River. But we can also understand why it was necessary for him to be somewhat prudent and respectful in asserting his claim over this more powerful neighbor. He chose a moment in King Philip's war for bringing his claim before the authorities at Hartford, while he himself started out in three sloops of war for the purpose of backing them up. But at Saybrook he was met by a force of Connecticut militia under Captain Thomas Bull, and on receiving from them some polite but pointed words of warning, he concluded not to enter the river.

3. The growth of the French power at the north made the Iroquois tribes a more and more important factor in the military situation. We have seen how these tribes had become hostile to the French, while they had established a firm alliance with the Dutch power upon the Hudson. The French had for some years realized the necessity of breaking up

this alliance; and to that end, Jesuit missionaries had visited the Long House and were diligently working there with some hopes of success. In order to counteract this baleful influence, Andros acted with characteristic thoroughness. Other governors had held conferences with Mohawk chiefs at Albany; but Andros penetrated the unknown forest as far as the site of Utica, in the Oneida country, where a great meeting was held, in which the representatives of all the tribes pledged themselves to extend to the English the same aid and friendship which they had formerly given to the Dutch. In order to perpetuate the good results of this meeting, Andros founded a Board of Indian Commissioners, with its headquarters at Albany.



FIG. 162.—Peter Schuyler. (From "Memorial History of New York.")

In 1677, Andros returned to England and spent about a year. At that time he was knighted, in approval of his official conduct, and came back to America to remain until 1681. This second period of his rule was marked by troubles in New York and in New Jersey, which had important consequences.

The mention of the name New Jersey reminds us that we must go back for a moment in point of time. Shortly after Charles II. had in 1664 granted the province of New Netherland to his brother, the Duke of York, the latter made a sub-grant of a goodly portion of this broad domain. He granted the region between the Delaware River and the lower reaches of the Hudson to two ardent friends and supporters. One of these was Lord Berkeley of Stratton, brother of that Sir William

Berkeley whom we have already met as governor of Virginia. The other was Sir George Carteret, who made a gallant defence of the Channel island of Jersey against the Roundheads. In honor of this brave soldier, the province was called *Nova Caesarea*, or *New Jersey*. The province was granted to the two gentlemen as joint property, but in point of fact they proceeded to take possession of two parts of it in severalty. Elizabethtown was founded and the neighboring country settled by people from Long Island, and there Carteret soon set up a government under his brother Philip. On the other hand, Lord Berkeley was left to do as he would with the shores of the Delaware River; and thus it happened that for a time there were practically two provinces known as East and West Jersey, with a boundary-line between them, which in 1676 was determined to be a straight line running from Little Egg Harbor to the intersection of the Delaware River, or its upper branch, with the parallel of $41^{\circ} 40'$.

The early affairs of East Jersey under the Carteret government were more or less complicated, and should either be told in full detail or quite briefly summarized. Told in full detail, they form a very interesting episode in the history of constitutional government; but if only partially summarized, they become an uninteresting and un instructive congeries of names and dates. The principal feature which complicated the situation and gave rise to much of the trouble was an initial ambiguity in the grant from the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret. Did he intend, in issuing that grant, to make them lords-proprietary with such powers of sovereignty and jurisdiction as Lord Baltimore exercised in Maryland, or did he simply intend to make them lords of great manorial estates, with ordinary manorial privileges, but without the kind of sovereignty that pertained to lords-proprietary? In the former case, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, so long as they lived up to their contract, were not amenable to any interference on the duke's part; and any governors they might appoint in New Jersey were absolutely independent of the duke's governor in New York. In the latter case, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, along with such governors as they might appoint, and their settlers, were responsible to the Duke of York, and, presumably, to his appointee and vicegerent on Manhattan Island. From these two extreme points of view, there grew up many quarrels; and the situation was complicated by the determination of the settlers in East Jersey to maintain the full legislative rights of their popular assembly, as if it were a little House of Commons. Andros, in the absence of express instructions to the contrary, was nat-

urally inclined to insist upon jurisdiction over the Jerseys ; and on one occasion, he was so far carried away by excess of zeal as to arrest Governor Carteret and imprison him in Fort James with many circumstances of indignity, although the governor was his personal friend.

While these things were going on, Lord Berkeley made up his mind that the best thing he could do with the West Jersey enterprise was to turn it into ready money ; so he sold out his share in the duke's grant to two Quakers, Edward Byllinge and John Fenwick. The former is described as a man of litigious temperament, and the latter was a man prone to getting into pecuniary troubles. It is therefore not strange that more or less bickering should have ensued, nor was it strange that the two worthy Quakers should have presently resorted to arbitration. The arbitrator chosen was William Penn ; and as this incident brings upon the scene the most illustrious of all the Englishmen who founded colonies in America, we must pause for a moment in our story while we devote a few words to his personality and his early career.

The family of William Penn had for many generations been more or less distinguished among the local gentry of Buckinghamshire, but his father was the first who attained to a European reputation. Among the great admirals who made the period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate especially illustrious in naval annals, Sir William Penn is by many critics ranked second to Blake alone. In spite of this brilliant service in behalf of the Commonwealth, Sir William became an intimate friend, and staunch though independent supporter, of the restored monarchy. It was very much with him as with such Commonwealth generals as grand old George Monk and such royalist statesmen as Edward Hyde. These sagacious men understood that a restoration of monarchy under due limitations was preferable to the wild course of experiments upon which England seemed in danger of entering. Sir William Penn was a typical sailor of the best sort—frank, honest, and staunch as a mastiff. His wife, Margaret Jasper, was a Dutch lady, daughter of an eminent merchant of Amsterdam. Their child, William Penn, was bilingual from infancy, speaking Dutch and English with equal facility. His childhood was passed amid luxurious surroundings ; and while still a very young man (Fig. 163), he was thrown into the closest intimacy with the king and the Duke of York. At the University of Oxford, he was distinguished both in scholarship and in athletic sports, as well as for extraordinary beauty and a vivacity of spirit somewhat chastened by a spirit of wistful seriousness. It was at Oxford that a

tendency toward mysticism, which had been growing on him since his twelfth or thirteenth year, began to attract general attention. It resulted in his embracing Quaker doctrines; and from this grew much trouble, which ended in his father's taking him from college and sending him over to Paris, that these uncouth propensities might be quenched amid the attractions of that gay capital. The desired result, however, was not attained. The young man's temperament was so sound and happy that he was always able to enjoy the legitimate pleasures of life without ever allowing his higher thoughts and more serious purposes to be dis-



FIG. 163. William Penn at twenty-two years of age.

turbed. He could enjoy all of Paris that deserved to be enjoyed, and remain a good Quaker still. There was nothing of the ascetic about William Penn. Zeal for spiritual perfection was as strong in him as in anyone; but it never interfered with his relish for good venison, and there was nothing in which he took more delight than in sitting till midnight over a glass of good wine, discussing history and theology with some learned clergyman or professor. Before he left France, he had spent some time at a Huguenot college; and on his return to England, he might fairly have been classed among the learned young men of his time. His persistence in Quaker notions sorely troubled his good father, who,

although once a Commonwealth man, had never swerved in his allegiance to the Church of England. There was more or less dissension under the admiral's roof; but at length the old man's admiration for his son's bravery and candor won the day, and all was sunshine again. At the admiral's death, which occurred in 1670, he bequeathed his son as a special charge to the Duke of York; and this confidence was worthily requited. The abiding friendship between Penn and the two royal Stuart brothers is one of the facts in his career which seems at first sight singular, and it has given rise to grievous misunderstanding on the part of many historians, including the late Lord Macaulay. The truth of the matter, however, seems simple enough. It was not strange that the king and William Penn should like one another, since both were bright and witty men who could always find entertainment in each other's company. As for the rather heavy James, the young Quaker seems always to have exerted over him that potent spell with which genius sometimes holds dullness captive. Of the two brothers, the king was secretly, and the duke avowedly, Catholic. Their policy aimed at sweeping England into the current of the Counter-Reformation. It was necessary for them to begin by relieving English Catholics of their civil disabilities; and as the only possible means of effecting this, it was necessary for them to profess a policy of toleration sufficient to include many others besides Catholics. The memory of the late war made it impossible at first to extend such a policy to Protestant dissenters, but the new sect of Quakers profited by it. It was natural, therefore, that Penn should regard the Stuart brothers as protectors of his sect. As their favorite, he was able to obtain sundry immunities for his fellow-religionists; and while he fully appreciated their good qualities, it is quite clear that he was partially blind to some of their bad ones. In particular, although Penn had a large share of worldly wisdom, his most obviously weak point was a certain generosity of spirit which made him slow to admit the existence of boundless and shameless treachery or duplicity in others. Consequently, he was never quite able to fathom the black depths of the Stuart nature. In these circumstances, we have, I think, a sufficient explanation for that singular alliance between Quaker and Catholic which seems to have puzzled so many writers.

High social position and court favor did not always suffice to keep Penn out of jail. From the period of his return from France, he began preaching at Quaker meetings and publishing tracts in support of their opinions; and it was impossible to go far in that direction without

incurring some penalty. It was not so much in the character of religious innovators as in that of civil law-breakers that the Quakers were pursued by the magistrates. It must be remembered that a Quaker was not allowed by his principles to pay tithes for the support of clergymen, or to enlist in the army, or to take the oath of allegiance, or even to be sworn as a witness. For the least of these peculiarities, he was liable to be committed for contempt of court; and his refusal to re-

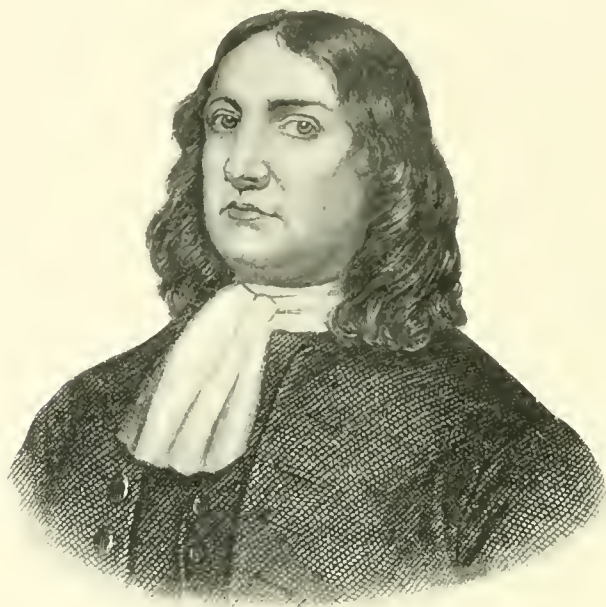


FIG. 164.—William Penn.

move his hat, as well as his persistence in using the singular pronoun, was liable to be interpreted in the same way. It must be remembered that the English practice two centuries ago, with regard to the use of pronouns of address, was like the French and German practice of to-day. The singular pronoun indicated either extreme intimacy or marked social inferiority on the part of the person addressed, so that for the prisoner to say "thou" to the judge, or for the witness to say it to the examining counsel, was equivalent either to "my darling," or to "you, fellow,"

and in either case was prodigiously shocking to people's sense of propriety. When, therefore, we read that more than 6000 Quakers were at one time in English jails, we must beware of giving to such a fact the same weight that would attach to the imprisonment of 6000 heretics in the cells of the Spanish Inquisition. Probably two-thirds of these Quakers were in jail for contempt of court, as exemplified in breaches of custom or etiquette. We do not read of Quakers suffering death in England, either for their opinions or for their conduct. That height of iniquity seems to have been attained only in Massachusetts. In England, however, there were few lesser penalties which Quakers did not now and then incur; for their conduct exposed them to various grades of misinterpretation, all the way from contempt of court up to high treason.

There can be no doubt that the accession of such a man as Penn (Fig. 164) to their ranks was of great value to the Quakers. His learning and philosophic breadth of view, his worldly sagacity, and his high social position were all highly serviceable to the cause. Among his many writings, whether keenly controversial or sweetly meditative, there were some which deserve to be ranked among the best prose literature of his time. As we read them, we see that he was no dreamy enthusiast, but simply a large-minded and large-hearted man, especially open to modern ideas. George Fox was in spirit the most complete democrat of his time, and to this spirit of democracy William Penn gave coherent form and lucid statement. He did much to make it practicable. The most characteristic feature of Quakerism is the emphasis with which it asserts the dignity of the individual human soul and the democratic equality of all souls in the presence of God. The voice of the Spirit, with its words of cheer or warning, may be heard by one man as well as another, since God is no respecter of persons. In this democracy there was no room for a priestly class, even were it only the salaried ministers of Congregationalism. The separation between church and state was complete, and within the state all persons must be equal before the law. The refusal to take off the hat and the use of the singular pronouns of address were simply conspicuous ways of asserting the democratic feeling. In view of these circumstances, any commonwealth founded by such a Quaker as William Penn might be expected to represent democracy carried to its extreme limit.

It was therefore a very interesting series of events, however trifling in themselves, that led Friends Byllinge and Fenwick to refer their dispute to Friend Penn for settlement. The details of the affair are of small interest. Let it suffice to say that, as the matter was finally

arranged, the Jersey property of Lord Berkeley was made over to a corporation of Friends, of whom Penn was one, to be held in trust for sundry assignees of Friend Byllinge.

This affair naturally led Penn to study the American colonies with close attention, and in this he was helped by a journey which his friend George Fox made in America. At the same time, several thriving settlements of Quakers were made at Salem, Burlington, and other places on the east shore of the Delaware River. Thus Penn presently became the leading spirit in the founding of a new colony, for it was he who chiefly drew up the constitution under which West Jersey was to be governed. But in putting this constitution into effect, there were difficulties; and chief among them was the fact that the Duke of York had never properly executed any release of the Jerseys, so that it was doubtful how far any constitution drawn up by Penn or anybody else could be made the sovereign law of the land. Many disputes clustered around this point, until at length the duke was prevailed upon to release East Jersey finally to the Carterets, and West Jersey to Penn and his associates.

During the progress of these matters, Penn's plans had been taking on a much wider sweep. Why not obtain a fresh grant of territory and start a new colony for himself, free from annoyance with conflicting Friends? While such thoughts were developing in his mind, Penn made a missionary journey on the continent of Europe, in company with three or four intimate acquaintances. This journey led the little party through Holland and Lower Germany as far as Bremen on the one hand, and Heidelberg on the other. In every town through which they passed, our missionaries preached to crowds of people, who were sometimes uproarious, but more often listened with respect, and sometimes with sympathetic conviction. There were in Germany at that time a number of small sects closely akin to the Quakers and representing the same half-mystical and half-rationalistic movement of thought. Among such people, Penn always found willing listeners. His diary of this journey, which was afterward published, contains many charming scenes; none more so than his account of his cordial reception at the palace of Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, at Herwerden. The princess and her ladies were deeply moved by the lofty words and inspired manner of this earnest young man. As a result of this brief wandering, Penn had reason to believe, on his return to England, that in founding a new colony he should draw many followers from Germany as well as from among his fellow-countrymen.



The Shackamaxon Treaty between William Penn and the Indians.

From an engraving by John Hall after the original painting by Benjamin West.

History of All Nations, Vol. XVI., page 382.

In the course of Penn's business, the crooked paths were made straight and the rough places plain by one simple and homely fact : the royal treasury was in debt to his father's estate to the amount of £16,000. From our merry monarch the payment of such a sum in cash or marketable securities was not to be expected ; but when it came to grants of wild land in America, Charles II. could be as lavish as Mr. Micawber with his I. O. U. Penn could thus collect his debts,

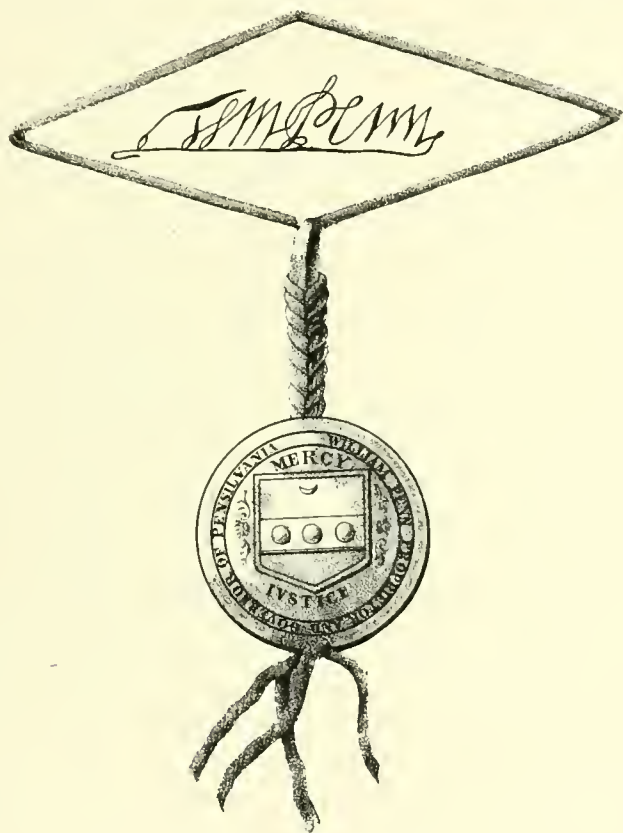


FIG. 165.—Penn's seal.

provided he was willing to go on and invest money in reclaiming the wilderness. The bargain was soon made, and in 1681 was issued the charter of Pennsylvania. It gave to Penn a princely domain of more than 40,000 square miles west of the Delaware River, lying between the territory of the Five Nations on the north and the palatinate of Maryland on the south. As to its precise limits, they were only adjusted after many years of contention with conflicting claims in every quarter

of the compass. Not only were there disputes with New York and with Maryland, but also with Connecticut, which by the charter of 1662 was supposed to extend to the Pacific Ocean. In our brief narrative, such details must be passed over. From the mass we need only extricate for special mention the settlements already made, chiefly by Swedes and Dutch, on the west bank of the Delaware River. By Lord Baltimore's charter, this territory unquestionably belonged to Maryland; but when Stuyvesant in 1655 annexed the Swedish settlements, they were not surrendered to Maryland, but retained by New Netherland, and so in 1664 they passed into the possession of the Duke of York, who held them in disregard of Lord Baltimore's protests. Now, however, the duke turned them over to William Penn in order to improve his access to the ocean. In this way originated the little state of Delaware, which throughout the colonial period remained part of the proprietary domain of the Penns, although for the most part it had its own legislative assembly independently of Pennsylvania.

When once the preliminaries were adjusted, the settlement of Pennsylvania went on at an unprecedented rate. In 1682, Penn himself came to America, and founded, at the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love. This city, from the outset, in its mere physical appearance, is one among many illustrations of the fact that it was founded in pursuance of an individual plan, and did not grow up through gradual stages of accretion like the cities of the Old World. The Boston and New York of colonial times wore the aspect of European cities. Their streets were irregular and crooked, abounding in picturesque situations and surprising corners, according as routes had happened to be worn and houses had happened to be built. Philadelphia, on the other hand, is the prototype of the modern American city, laid out according to a single monotonous plan, its streets all crossing each other at right angles and equidistant, like the squares in the chessboard country which Alice visited in Wonderland. In such cases it would seem as if man, when, according to the old adage, he made the town, had wished to emphasize as much as possible the difference between his own handiwork and that of the Author of nature.

Into this new city, the influx of settlers was so rapid that within half a dozen years the population was as large as that of New York. The chief reason for this is to be found in the extreme liberality of Penn's constitution. The grants of land were in fee simple and mostly of moderate size. Religious liberty was practically complete; all persons, even including Jews, were held equal before the law. It was announced,

in the persuasive language of which Penn was master, that government exists for the sake of the people, and not the people for the sake of government. It was also maintained that the true object of penal legislation is not to wreak vengeance upon the criminal, but to reform him. In accordance with this view, the penal code was very remarkable for that time. In the code of Massachusetts, there was a list of fourteen



FIG. 166.—Penn's slate-roof house as it stands to-day in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

crimes punishable with death; but Penn restricted the extreme penalty to the two crimes of murder and treason. It is interesting, however, to observe that this humane and enlightened legislation proved somewhat impracticable; for within a score of years, we find that it had been thought advisable to increase the list of capital crimes. After making all allowances, however, Penn's legislation stands pre-eminent for its gentleness. As for the suffrage, it was practically universal. Added

to these provisions there was the effect wrought by Penn's personal character, so strong and lofty and so widely known. The English Quakers knew him as a man whom all could trust, while his tour in Germany had won for him hundreds of adherents in that country. It was natural that such people should flock in great numbers to Penn's woodland, expecting to find it almost an earthly Paradise; but it was not only Quakers and persons of kindred sects who came, but all sorts and conditions of men were drawn thither by the feeling that, so far as the law was concerned, all were to fare alike. It was, no doubt, partly due to his Dutch and German support that Penn's enterprise became much more celebrated on the continent of Europe than any of the older attempts at colonizing America. For the next half century, we find in French and German and Italian writers allusions to Pennsylvania, the



FIG. 167. Penn's arms.

the favored country of the men of peace, the land of brotherly love, where people think as they please, and do not send each other to the scaffold for rites and dogmas. Although the new colony was not without its share of strife and disappointment, yet on the whole it deserved the high reputation which it had won. As for Penn, he stayed but two years in his new colony, at the end of which time he found that he could be of more use to it by returning to England than by remaining on the spot. When he sailed from Philadelphia in 1684, he expected to return

after one or two years; but fifteen years elapsed before he was able to do so. The circumstances which prevented him were in various ways connected with the great political revolution which occurred in England, none the less great and memorable because it was effected with so little bloodshed. The revolution of 1689, which for a few years united Great Britain and the Netherlands under the same sovereign, was the culmination of the noble work that had been going on since the death of Elizabeth, in guaranteeing political freedom, first to men of English speech, and afterward, in the course of time, to other races. It is because of that revolution that at the present moment all the political constitutions of nations that do not speak English are conscious imitations of English and American models.

In America, the immediate consequences of the overthrow of the Stuarts were manifold and curious. We have already seen how a revolution was produced in Maryland which overthrew the palatinate government; we have also seen how Boston rose in rebellion against Andros, and how the attempt to unite the New England colonies with those of New York and New Jersey into a single viceroyalty was defeated. We have now to notice the effects wrought in the middle colonies, which in Pennsylvania were very slight, but in New York were complicated and far-reaching.

It will be observed that of all the colonies hitherto founded within the limits of the present United States, the only one which did not enjoy political freedom was New York; a fact which ought certainly to be pondered by those somewhat hasty writers who assert that political liberty came to us from Holland rather than from England. During the half century of Dutch rule, the political status of New Netherland was similar to that of Virginia during its first twelve years—that is to say, it was arbitrarily ruled by a governor appointed by a great commercial company. The difference between the two cases was that the English commercial company, after twelve years, gave Virginia a representative government, while, on the other hand, the Dutch commercial company never gave such a government to New Netherland, though more than once petitioned by the people to do so. There is no doubt that the English conquest of New Netherland was facilitated by the popular hope that the change of rulers would bring with it English liberties. In this hope, however, the good people of New York were disappointed. The Duke of York was no lover of popular assemblies. His three governors—Nicolls, Lovelace, and Andros—were all, after their different fashions, autocrats. Accordingly there was growing discontent among the people of New York; and the founding of Pennsylvania, with its democratic constitution, contributed to increase this popular uneasiness. At length, by the advice of Penn himself, the duke decided to try the experiment of a representative assembly in New York. He recalled Andros and sent out a different sort of governor to put this scheme into practice. The new governor, Thomas Dongan (Fig. 168), was one of the most remarkable men of our colonial period. He was a native of Ireland, a near relative of the Earl of Limerick, to whose earldom he succeeded some years later. For intellectual calibre and accomplishments, he stood far above the level of Andros, and his great abilities were happily set off by a magnetic presence and exquisite tact. Dongan's assembly, held in 1683, passed several wholesome laws and

drew up a charter to be submitted to the duke for his approval; but matters went no further, for in 1685, while the charter was yet waiting for signature, the king died and the duke succeeded to the throne. The French danger at the north led James to abandon all thought of legisla-



Tho Dongan

FIG. 168.—Thomas Dongan. (From "Memorial History of New York.")

these reasons, Sir Edmund Andros was sent back to America as viceroy of New England, and in his viceroyalty were included New York and New Jersey.

In a former chapter, we saw how the news of the downfall of James II. immediately led to an insurrection in Boston, in which Andros was deposed and imprisoned. All the old popular governments in New England were at once restored, and these proceedings were so skillfully represented to William III. as to appear in the light of a movement in his favor against the deposed James. In New York, the circumstances were peculiar. That war for which James had felt it necessary to be prepared was at once precipitated by his downfall. The mighty struggle between Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation, between political freedom and despotism, between William III. and Louis XIV., was about to begin, and premonitions of it were everywhere in the air. The

tive assemblies for his American colonies. He was soldier enough to know the advantages of having a single head for military operations. He was, moreover, well aware that war calls for money, and that the many-tongued beast called a parliament is apt to be niggardly in the time of need. It was not that James looked for any immediate outbreak of war, so long as his present relations with his French cousin continued; but it was desirable to be well provided against any such contingency. The opportunity, moreover, was one which recommended itself in two ways. The same measure which increased the military strength of the northern colonies served also to punish Massachusetts for the half-rebellious attitude of her theocracy toward the British government. For

political sky was black with thunder-clouds. We now know that in the spring of 1689 the plans of Louis XIV. for the immediate conquest of New York had all been elaborately prepared and minute instructions had been written out, even going so far as to dispose of the inhabitants and their property after the city should have surrendered. Of course, the people of New York did not know as we do what was planned against them; but they dreaded it as much as if they had known. Who, then, was their governor at this momentous crisis? To whom should they look for defence against the enemy? Rumors of a declaration of war arrived upon the scene a few weeks in advance of the reality. It was not a season when governorship could be left in abeyance. Andros had left upon the scene a lieutenant-governor, Francis Nicholson, the same who was afterward sent to Virginia and Maryland; but was Nicholson properly their governor, or ought he rather to be considered

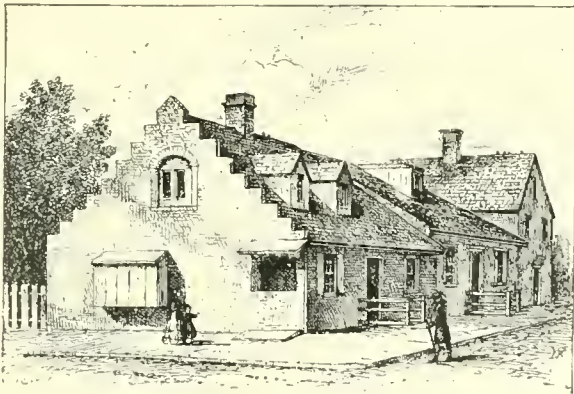


FIG. 169.—Southeast corner of Broad Street and Exchange Place. (From "Memorial History of New York.")

as virtually overthrown along with Andros? Would King William recognize him, or would he order his arrest? There was a widespread belief that Nicholson was a papist at heart; and many of the citizens feared that, if a French fleet should arrive, he would betray the city into their hands. It is quite clear that there was no just foundation for such a suspicion, but it was a very natural one for people to entertain.

At this moment, there was a well-marked division of classes in New York. There were the aristocratic patroons, with the great merchants and royal officials, on the one hand; and opposed to these were the small tradesmen, handicraftsmen, together with the nondescript populace of a busy little seaport. The peculiar state of affairs was such as to

invite a leader of the small people to assert himself against the great people. Such a leader was found in Jacob Leisler, a native of Frankfort-on-the-Main, who had for some thirty years done business in New Amsterdam as a wine-merchant. He was a man of wealth and held in high esteem for his integrity; at the same time, he was a person of narrow mind and fanatical temperament, the right sort of person to be seized and mastered by a fixed idea. We have seen that a strong wave of anti-Catholic fanaticism swept over all the English colonies during the reign of James II., as a consequence of the general dread of his policy. In the intense and narrow mind of Leisler, all that fanaticism was summed up. Of course, he believed that Nicholson would seize the first opportunity to betray town and province. He also believed that the overthrow of Andros had left the province of New York without any legitimate government, and he felt that it would be doing good service to King William if an incorruptible Protestant were to administer the government for him until the crisis should have passed. Such a staunch Protestant was himself. He felt that the city would be safe in his hands, and he acted accordingly.

A quarrel between Governor Nicholson and a subordinate officer in Fort James furnished the occasion for Leisler. In the loud and passionate talk Nicholson let fall some word which sounded like "fire," and forthwith the rumor spread throughout the community that the governor was going to burn the city. The trainbands were soon assembled, and were admitted to the fort by an officer in sympathy with them. A few days afterward an English frigate was desered in the lower bay, and rumor straightway converted her into a French fleet, thereby causing a wild panic. At this moment the eyes of the democratic faction were turned upon Leisler. He was wealthy, he was not afraid to assume responsibility, and his well-known integrity insured for him the confidence of such people. A few days before, he had emphatically declared his position by refusing to pay the duty on a cargo of wine newly arrived from Germany, on the ground that the collector was a papist, and that neither this man nor any other officer appointed by James II. was now legitimately in office. Under these circumstances it was not long before a committee of safety was appointed, which first chose Leisler to command the fort, and soon afterward virtually made him governor of the province under the title of commander-in-chief. While these things were going on, Nicholson sailed for England with his tale of woe. In order that we may clearly conceive the situation, let us ask in whom was the government of New York at this moment legitimately

invested? According to all English legal precedent, it remained in the officials appointed by James II. until their place should be filled by new officials appointed by William and Mary. In view of the symptoms of uneasiness visible in the colonies, King William had promptly issued a circular letter, enjoining upon the Americans to abide contented with the present situation until he should have time to look over the field and make such changes as might seem necessary. If this letter had arrived in Boston before April, it would probably have prevented the insurrection which overthrew Andros; for in such case the insurrection would have been a rising against King William, and could not have been excused as directed solely against King James. The astute president of Harvard, Dr. Increase Mather, who was then in London, succeeded in delaying the issue of the letter, that his good friends in Boston might have as much time as possible for maturing their plans; and the result of this delay left New York also without especial instructions. Nevertheless, in the absence of any such instructions, the government remained legally in the hands of Nicholson until the new king should see fit to supersede him. When Nicholson departed the government became legally vested in the executive council, three members of which were present in New York at that time. These members were Stephen Van Courtlandt, mayor of the city, Nicholas Bayard, commander of the militia, and Frederick Philipse, the richest man in the province. These men were staunch Protestants; but since they were appointees of the Stuart king, the worthy Leisler saw fit to regard them—to use his own courteous phrase—as “renegade papist hounds.”

On what ground, then, did Leisler's government rest? Simply on the revolutionary ground that “the supreme law is the safety of the people.” It was believed by a party of the people that in the impending French invasion the men in whom the government was technically vested would prove traitors, and that therefore the control must be taken from them and put into hands that could be trusted. It is thus clear that the Leislerian movement was a usurpation; at the same time, it was a usurpation conducted in perfect good faith by men who believed themselves justified by the circumstances and entitled to King William's gratitude for rendering him an important service. The reproaches which the opposing partisans in New York have continued to cast upon each other during two centuries are alike undeserved. It is clear that both sides acted from their deepest convictions of what was right, according to their opposing views of the situation.

Historians in sympathy with the aristocratic party are usually unfair

to the Leislerians, because the French invasion did not occur in the way that was expected; hence it is assumed that there was no good ground for an anti-Catholic scare. But if we divest ourselves of the knowledge of events which in the early summer of 1689 were still in the impenetrable future, we shall see that there was very good ground for such a scare. The unforeseen element in the case was the tremendous effect of the blow which the warriors of the Long House proceeded to inflict upon Canada. The summer and fall of 1689 carried mourning into almost every French household. The crops were destroyed far and wide; Fort Frontenac, on the present site of Kingston, at the head of

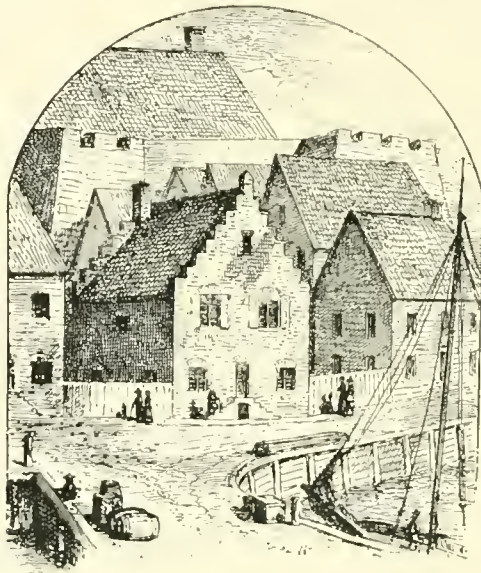


FIG. 170. Leisler's house. (From "Memorial History of New York.")

the St. Lawrence, was captured; the northwestern fur-trade was completely cut off; and the climax was capped when the screaming barbarians laid siege to Montreal and feasted upon the flesh of their captives before the very eyes of the terrified inhabitants. To such a point was Canada reduced that when Count Frontenac arrived in the autumn with minute instructions in his pocket for conquering New York, he found that before beginning upon this work he must be put to his wits' end to repair the damage inflicted by the Iroquois. To these circumstances it was due that the blow which the Leislerians feared never reached Manhattan Island, but spent its force on the little frontier village of Schenectady.

The tragic fate of this town shows forcibly to what extent the province was at that moment a house divided against itself. During more than half a year there had been a considerable development both in Leisler's pretensions and in the opposition to them. Leisler had taken the earliest opportunity to anticipate the councilmen in proclaiming William and Mary, and in changing the name of the fort from James to William. He had received a letter over the king's signature, containing sundry instructions and addressed to "our trusty lieutenant-governor," but without mentioning any name. This letter was intended for Nicholson, being written before it was known that he had sailed for England; but Leisler understood it to be intended for himself, and from that time forth he assumed the style of lieutenant-governor. It must therefore have been quite a blow to him when the royal instructions to continue King James's officials in office at length arrived in New York after long delay. Now for the first time Leisler's path began to lead him into direct opposition to the king. He felt that he knew the situation better than King William did. He was sure that that sovereign would never have sent such instructions if he had known what base traitors the councilmen were. It would therefore be doing a favor to the king if Leisler were to turn them out, provided the whole matter were duly explained to his Majesty. As a result of this line of thought, the councilmen were expelled from office and Bayard was thrown into prison and cruelly treated.

But chief executive officers, no matter who they may be or however appointed, cannot administer public affairs without some revenue; and here Leisler made himself unpopular by reviving one of the duke's revenue laws which had always been detested. After a while he found it necessary to issue writs for a new assembly; but many towns refused to hold an election, on the ground that Leisler was a usurper. He tried to depose sundry sheriffs and other local officers appointed under the old regime, and to appoint new ones in their stead; but while in some towns his new appointments were quietly recognized, in other places the old officials refused to give way and dared Leisler to do his worst. In such cases his response was apt to be the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of the refractory persons, thus sowing seeds of anarchy far and wide. In Schenectady the fierceness of party strife had the singular result of leaving the town unguarded at the very moment when the French and Indian force attacked it at midnight. The fearful massacre of that February night aroused the colonies far and near. Its immediate effect was to strengthen Leisler's hand in New York. Up to that

moment Albany had defied him ; but when he now sent an armed force for its protection the little city could not well afford to decline the aid, so it admitted the soldiers and virtually recognized Leisler's authority. His next step was to summon a congress of all the colonies for the purpose of concerting measures against the French. This congress met in the city of New York in May, 1690, and it is an event which should immortalize the name of Leisler with Americans of all parties and all ways of thinking. It was the first step toward federation on a continental scale. It was a precedent of the highest importance. Its purpose was profoundly legitimate, and it was the most practical method of attaining the purpose. Leisler's conduct in this emergency was that of a true statesman. That the military arrangements made by this memorable congress were not successful was not the fault either of Leisler or of the congress, but was simply due to the fact that the colonial generals, Sir William Phipps and Fitz-John Winthrop, proved to be no match for Frontenac.

Meanwhile, events in England were working unpropitiously for Leisler. He sent a man of obscure station, keeper of a liquor-shop, as diplomatic agent to represent his case to the king. It was not a happy choice. Neither the king nor any of his ministers would be likely to enter into parley with such an unknown person, representing an equally unknown functionary in New York. Possibly such a difficulty might have been overcome by an envoy endowed with great knowledge of the world and preternatural tact ; but Leisler's man was not such an envoy. No notice was taken of him whatever, and he came home in despair without having had any chance to tell his story. The king, of course, listened to Nicholson, in whom he showed his confidence by sending him to govern Virginia. For New York, he appointed Colonel Henry Sloughter to be governor and Major Richard Ingoldsby to be lieutenant-governor. The three councilmen he confirmed in their places, while he utterly ignored Leisler's existence. Now it happened that part of the little fleet was delayed, and Ingoldsby, with a small military force, arrived at New York some weeks before Sloughter. Ingoldsby demanded the fort ; but Leisler questioned his authority and refused to give it up, whereupon Ingoldsby landed his men and encamped them near the City Hall. After many days had elapsed Leisler grew impatient, and, after warning Ingoldsby to depart, he opened fire upon him from the fort and slew several of his men. Sloughter's arrival, bearing the royal commission, soon ended this state of things. Upon his offer of pardon to the garrison, they all marched out of the fort and laid down their arms,

leaving Leisler with a few friends alone. These unfortunate men were promptly arrested and brought to trial for having wantonly shed blood while resisting a king's officer engaged on his legitimate business. On this charge Leisler and six or eight of his friends were found guilty and sentenced to death. An appeal was taken to the crown; but before any answer arrived, Sloughter was persuaded to pardon every one excepting Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne. These two men were accordingly sent to the gallows and their estates were confiscated.

On the scaffold Leisler made a noble and touching speech, full of the true Christian spirit and presenting his own case in such a way that we must needs exonerate him of any intentional wrong-doing.

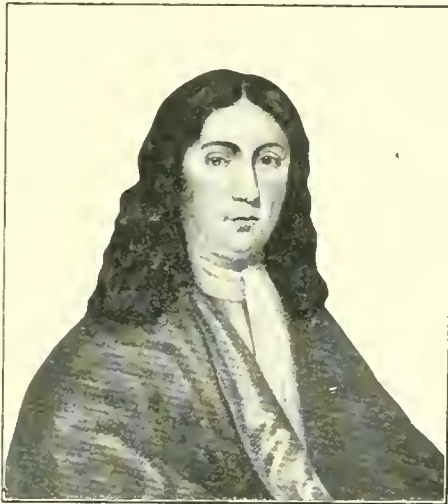


FIG. 171.—Joseph Dudley. (From an unlettered proof in the collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

With regard to the execution, it must be said that Leisler was no doubt technically guilty of murder; but any verdict to that effect should have been one of "guilty with extenuating circumstances." The execution was surely ill-judged, and the stigma conveyed by the act of confiscation was undeserved, as was shown by the fact that Parliament presently reversed it and restored the family of the unfortunate man to their full possessions and honors.

As for Sloughter, who was a poor, broken-down drunkard, he did not long survive his victim. Presently there came an enterprising military man, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, empowered to govern New York and some of its neighbors as well. Penn's friendship for the

exiled king caused him to be suspected by the Whig party. Some people accused him of complicity with Jacobite plots, and such charges have been repeated by Lord Macaulay, but without good reason. King William was satisfied of Penn's innocence in this respect; but in view of the great war which was springing up in America, he did not wish to leave Pennsylvania in Quaker hands; accordingly he took away Penn's proprietary charter, converted Pennsylvania into a royal province, and instructed Colonel Fletcher to assume its government, as well as that of New Jersey. He also gave him authority to call out and take command of the militia of Connecticut. But Fletcher did not fare well in these enterprises. The Connecticut people simply set him at defiance; they told him to mind his own business and leave them to take care of their own militia. The gentle Quakers in Philadelphia conveyed the same kind of message in milder phrases; and scarcely more than a year had elapsed when the king restored Penn's proprietary rights. Concerning the military events of Fletcher's time, we shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter. Toward the Leislerites his general attitude was hostile, and this circumstance after a while got him into trouble.

The Atlantic coast of North America was at that time infested with pirates, who made their lair among the Bahama Islands or in the sequestered nooks of the North Carolina coast. Sallying forth from these hiding-places, they carried on their depredations in all directions. These pirates were, in a certain sense, the successors of the buccaneers; and these, in turn, originated in the long maritime warfare which England, the Netherlands, and other countries conducted against Spain. First, there were such expeditions as those in which Sir Francis Drake cut off the Spanish-American supplies; this was legitimate warfare and had in it no taint of piracy; later on, as the decline of Spain's naval power became apparent, portions of the West India Islands became the rendezvous of freebooters from all parts of Europe. On the coast of Haiti and elsewhere there were little colonies of these people. In the intervals of their piratical excursions they raised cattle, tanned their hides for sale, and cut up great quantities of smoked beef, not only for the market, but for their own consumption on future voyages. This method of curing beef was called "boucaning," and thus these men came to be known as buccaneers. Among them were comprised people of many sorts; in some the criminality was but slight, while others were as hideous ruffians as the world has ever seen. The most atrocious record of all was perhaps that which was made by the Welshman,

Henry Morgan, who, after a long and frightful career of robbery and murder, suddenly turned about and paraded as a thief-taker, amassed more wealth in delivering his old comrades to the hangman than he had been able to gain by sharing in their plunder, and finally was appointed Chief Justice of Jamaica and became Sir Henry Morgan. There was one saving characteristic in these buccaneers which distinguished them from ordinary pirates: their atrocities were supposed to be committed only upon Spaniards; and in the public opinion of long aggrieved Europe, Spaniards had no rights which other nations need feel bound to respect.

But, after a while, buccaneering developed into miscellaneous piracy. The seventeenth century witnessed an enormous increase of merchant shipping afloat on the high seas with very inadequate naval protection. All this was especially favorable to piracy, and the favorite field for the pirate's work was the Indian Ocean, over which such immensely valuable cargoes were carried. In those waters the island of Madagascar was the principal lurking-place of the ruffians. Thither they would fetch their prizes, and, after making such exchanges as were convenient, would sail for the coast of North America, where they found plenty of customers in all the coast cities from South Carolina northward. New York saw more of them than any other port. They brought with them so many Oriental wares that the streets might have reminded one of Damascus or Bagdad, while they were so lavish with their gold-pieces that people were not over-anxious to inquire whence came these extraordinary riches. It was said that the prudent pirate greased everybody's palm with bush-money, and suspicions were directed against many of the foremost people in the colony. Where did Mrs. A. get the immense diamond which she wore at the ball last evening? Or how about the gorgeous Eastern rug which covered the parlor-floor at Mrs. B.'s? And when that ship from Cochin China came through the Narrows last week, why was Councilman C.'s confidential clerk in such haste as to go down to her in a rowboat? In such an atmosphere of suspicion, if you wished to injure anybody, you had only to accuse him of complicity with the sea-rovers. Accordingly sundry Leislerites brought such accusations against Governor Fletcher and thus secured his removal.

This was in 1698. Fletcher's successor was Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, a high-toned gentleman with democratic and leveling tendencies united with rare courtesy of demeanor, great energy, and inflexible will. Among other things, he had made up his mind to put down the

pirates, and for this purpose had entered into a kind of syndicate with three or four eminent noblemen to equip a powerful ship and send it on police duty to the Indian Ocean. The expenses of the expedition were to be defrayed by the confiscated spoil of the captured pirates. If any profits were left, they were to be divided among the syndicate. Rumor whispered that even the king was a shareholder in this enterprise. To command this thief-hunting ship the syndicate selected a Scotch mer-



your affection^t friend & servant

Bellomont

FIG. 172.—Earl of Bellomont.

chant then living in New York, by the name of William Kidd. He was a middle-aged man of noted ability, well educated, and with a high reputation for integrity; and when he sailed from New York with his swift cruiser well manned, well provisioned, and well armed, it seemed to forebode a speedy and damaging blow to piracy. Nothing was heard from Kidd for more than a year, and then came the astounding report

that he had turned pirate himself. Just what had happened we shall perhaps never surely know, it is so difficult to harmonize the conflicting reports. It is certain that Kidd cruised for an unusual length of time without finding any pirate ships worth taking. His own story is that his crew insisted upon capturing any rich prize that might come along, whether a pirate or not, and that he was at last compelled to fall in with this policy through fear for his own safety. On one occasion, according to his own account, he quelled an incipient mutiny by striking one of the gunners over the head with a bucket, unintentionally killing him. It is certain that after that time he captured a number of ships, some of them belonging to Asiatic powers in alliance with Great Britain, and that from the spoil he secured for himself a large treasure. When such rumors reached England they were liable to create an awkward position for the syndicate, and it behooved these men to wash their

New York April 4th 1709
Then appeared before me Dward our court
Cornbury Capt Geo. E. Governor in: Chief of
the Province of New York two several
Alfred Jones John of Robert Thelton, Clerk and
aid praying for admittion of the Good Faithly
and Prodicts of the D Lord it is accordingly
granted and the Ring sworn faithfully to
administer yd Estate & to return an
inventory thereof
coram me *Cornbury*

FIG. 173.—Letter of administration granted by Cornbury.

hands of Kidd without delay. Accordingly, when a royal proclamation was issued offering free pardon to all pirates who would surrender themselves before a certain date, Kidd's name was one among a few that were expressly excepted. Kidd seems to have heard of this while in the West Indies. He decided to plead his case privately before Lord Bellomont (Fig. 172). Arriving at New York, he found that that nobleman had gone to Boston, since he had also been made governor of

Massachusetts. Kidd followed him to Boston, and was imprudent enough to go ashore. Thereupon the stern Bellomont had him arrested and sent to England, where his trial and execution speedily followed.

Lord Bellomont did not long survive the famous pirate. Before the end of 1701 he died of a wasting disease. He was generally respected and beloved, but his leveling ideas brought him into hostility with the aristocratic party in New York. He espoused the cause of the Leislerites with a zeal that was tempered by discretion. After his death the Leislerite party carried things with a high hand. Having gained a large



FIG. 174.—Lord Cornbury.

majority in the assembly, they passed laws which practically opened the way to wholesale confiscation, and New York was threatened with anarchy when the new governor, Lord Cornbury (Figs. 173, 174), arrived in 1702. This Cornbury, whose name was Edward Hyde, was grandson of the great Earl of Clarendon and own cousin to Queen Anne, whom he strongly resembled in appearance. He was a wretched, lawless creature, caring for nothing in the world but his own gross pleasures; and he was at the same time such a fool as to take delight in appearing in public in gorgeous female attire, in order to emphasize the resemblance

between himself and his royal cousin. Among all our colonial governors, his was the most disgusting personality; but in New York he accomplished a certain amount of good, for in a measure he softened the dissensions between Leislerites and aristocrats by uniting both parties against his odious self. After six years the death of his father made him Earl of Clarendon; and he went to England to look after his private affairs, thus ridding New York of his presence. A new state of things began in 1710 with the advent of Robert Hunter, one of that company of intelligent and noble-minded Scotchmen who were sent out at that time by the British government to manage colonial affairs. Hunter was a man similar in type to Spotswood, and ranks among the ablest and most genial of early American statesmen; and his experience with his legislative assembly was for the New York people a valuable training in constitutional self-government. The questions which oftenest came up for discussion at this period were connected with the great war that was raging. It is impossible to pursue the history of the northern colonies after the year 1689 without perpetual reference to that war. From 1689 to 1763 the figure of France hovers in the foreground as an ever-present danger. We must now go back many years in point of time, and devote some pages to the career of New France under Louis XIV.

ANALYTICAL CONTENTS.

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